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CURRENT HISTORY

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What Shall We Do to Stop Crime?

*By Judge
W. B. Swaney*

*By Ex-Governor
James P. Goodrich*

*By
Everett P. Wheeler*

*By Rear-Admiral
Colby M. Chester*

*By
Paul S. Reinsch*

RUSSIA'S TRUE
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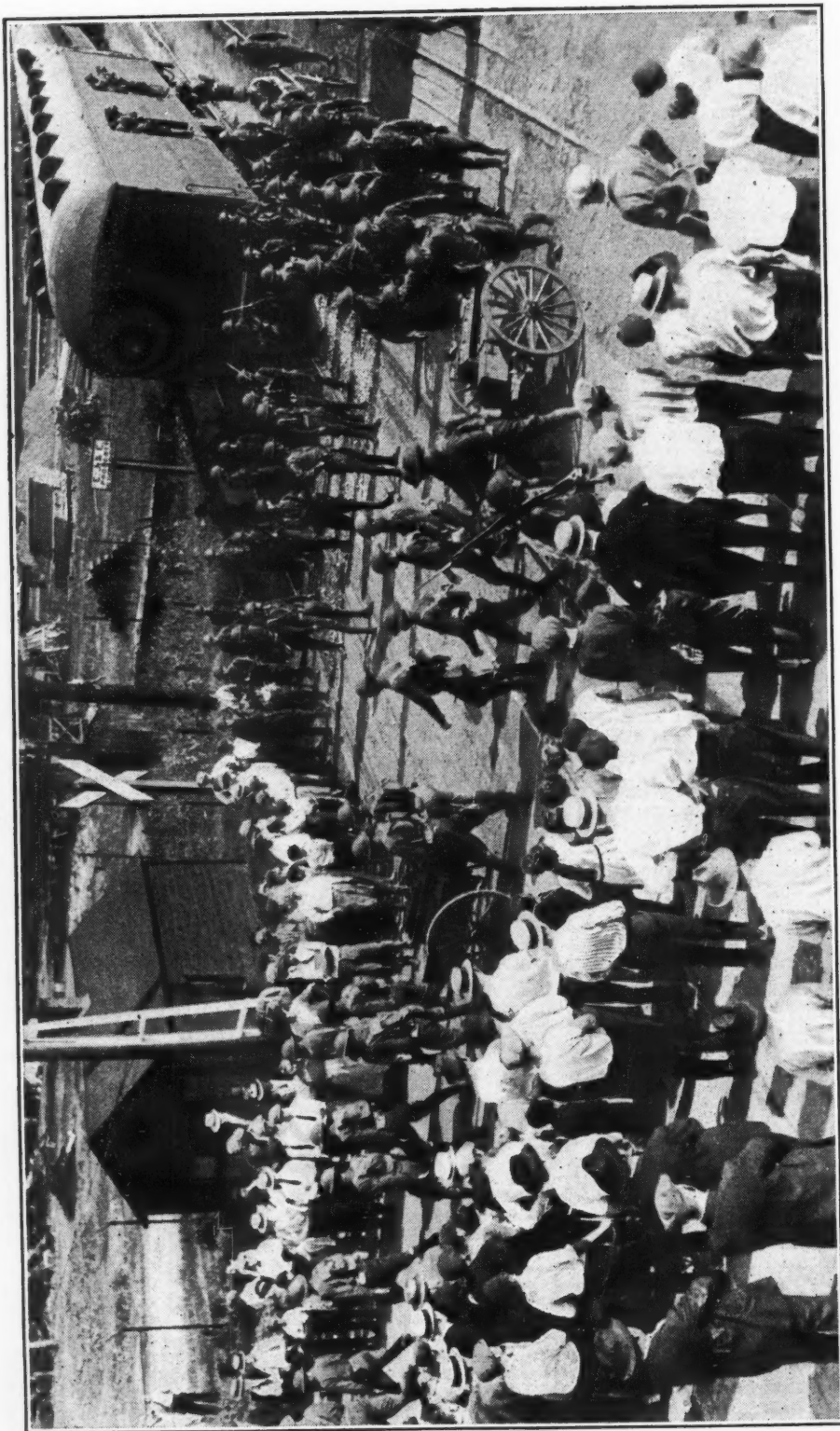
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A typical scene in the railroad strike that is convulsing the nation's traffic system. Illinois State troops are seen marching into Joliet with rifles and machine guns, where a riot of railway strikers resulted in the death of two and the injury of many. (See article, "The Month in the United States")



JUDGE WILLIAM B. SWANEY

WHAT SHALL WE DO TO STOP CRIME?

By WILLIAM B. SWANEY

Chairman of American Bar Association's Committee on Law Enforcement; Former Judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court; Author of "Safeguards of Liberty" and other books.

An interpretation of the startling facts regarding crime in the United States, as revealed by a special committee of the Bar Association—More crimes of violence here than in any other great nation

NO subject has attracted more attention and caused more serious discussion than that of criminal conditions in the United States since the World War. As was to have been expected, it has been made the theme of many speeches and papers by members of the American Bar Association. At the meeting held in Cincinnati in September, 1921, a resolution was adopted providing for the appointment of a special committee of five on law enforcement to investigate and report. The writer was named as Chairman, with the following associates: Judge Marcus Kavanagh of Chicago, Ex-Governor Charles S. Whitman of New York, Wade H. Ellis of Washington, D. C., and Charles W. Farnham of St. Paul, Minn.

After holding open sessions in Washington City, in Chicago and in New York

City, and after visiting the Joliet Penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., and the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, and devoting a year to the study of the many questions involved, this committee presented a report to the association at its meeting in San Francisco on Aug. 10, 1922. That report is printed in full at the end of this article.

I desire in this public manner to express my appreciation to my associates for the cordial support given, as well as for the able and thorough consideration bestowed by each of them upon the many troublesome questions presented for consideration, without compensation and without complaint, and the extraordinary time given to make the investigation a success.

Attention is directed to their qualifications for this undertaking. Judge Kavanagh has been a member of the Superior

Court of Cook County, Illinois, for over twenty years, during which time he has presided with ability and credit in the trial of many celebrated criminal cases. He is an expert criminologist and penologist, having studied conditions extensively in Europe, in Canada and in the United States. Ex-Governor Whitman has had more experience in law enforcement than any one else in the United States, first on the bench, then as prosecuting attorney, and later as Governor of New York. His reputation as a successful prosecutor and the knowledge acquired from actual experience entitle his opinions to the greatest weight. Mr. Ellis has also had a varied experience as corporation counsel of Cincinnati, Attorney General of the State of Ohio, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and special counsel for various commissions dealing with Russia and other nations. Mr. Farnham is a prominent member of the St. Paul bar, a ripe scholar and publicist, and a student of kindred subjects.

A casual reading of the report will show that much time and thought were given to the many matters covered, as the open meetings attracted wide attention in the press, and its comments were helpful in many ways. It was deemed wise by the committee not to attempt to report on all the problems presented and to forego the privilege of theorizing on any topic embraced in the report. The one purpose kept in view throughout the investigation was that every statement made should be amply supported by facts. Another aim was to make the report short and practical, so that it might cause prompt action.

The report as a whole is notable for what it omits as well as for what is said. There were several attempts made by the Chairman and other members to prepare separate reports, with a view of having them consolidated, but this was found impracticable. After holding the open sessions of the committee in Washington, Chicago and New York, the committee held its final meeting at the delightful Summer home of our associate, Mr. Farnham, at St. Mary's Point, on Lake St. Croix, where two days were devoted to the preparation of the report. On this occasion, it is needless to say, many of the beautiful theories as to the causes and cures for crime and other

ills of the body politic, presented by the Chairman and others, were mercilessly slaughtered and consigned to the limbo of oblivion. It can be truthfully said that the report is the work of the committee as a whole, and is not what any one member would have written.

ASTONISHING LACK OF DATA

The greatest difficulty encountered by the committee was that of obtaining trustworthy statistics. The absence of criminal statistics in this country since 1910 will doubtless be a surprise to many American citizens, as it was to the committee. It is hardly conceivable how a great nation like ours, which boasts that it is the business centre of the world, could be guilty of the folly of ignoring — even from a financial point of view — the necessity of studying criminal conditions which have been steadily growing worse and becoming more alarming for at least thirty years. Such is the fact, however, and no time should be lost in remedying the omission, the very first step in which should be the establishing of a Bureau of Criminal Statistics and Records for the use of the country as a whole. Without such a bureau and the data so to be accumulated it will be impossible to study our problems exhaustively or scientifically. The reasons for such a bureau are so many and cogent that they will readily present themselves, more especially, to one who has examined the annual reports printed by Canada and England and Wales and contrasted the efficiency of Scotland Yard with the police methods of our great cities.

It was the endeavor of the committee to use such statistics as could be obtained in this country, and to show by comparison the lamentable conditions now prevailing here. Canada was chosen for evident reasons. The figures given are authentic and tell their own story. The facts stated show the complexity of our problems, which have been allowed to overtake us without any intelligent and systematic effort to prevent them or remedy them. It should also be stated that Canada has followed the lead of England in recent years in simplifying her criminal laws and abolishing technicalities in criminal procedure.

Like the English and Welsh, the Canadians are in hearty sympathy with the of-

ficers whose duty it is to enforce the law, and aid them in enforcing it. Too hasty conclusions should not be drawn from the facts shown, and it will be helpful to make an investigation into the condition of England during the first half of the nineteenth century. This is especially true as to any rash criticism which many thoughtless persons may be inclined to indulge in in regard to our form of government. Lawlessness is a problem as old as civilization itself, and there is no such thing as a perfect Government. The conditions in Chicago are, as pointed out, quite different from those in Canada, and this is true also as to London, Paris and Berlin. It is especially true as regards foreign population. London, with a population of over 7,000,000, had a foreign population of 3 per cent. in 1911; Paris had a foreign population of 6 per cent.; and Berlin had a foreign population of 2.9 per cent.; while Chicago, with a population of 2,700,000, had a foreign element of 36 per cent., and New York's foreign population was 41 per cent.

While the problem of law enforcement is more complex here than in Canada, the committee was of opinion that the greatest factors in favor of Canada were the swiftness and certainty of punishment, the methods of applying the law, the practical absence of interference with the judgments of the courts and the strong public sentiment in favor of law and order. The committee was unanimous in the conclusion that the abnormal amount of crime in our large cities was due—more than to any other single cause—to the fact that criminals escape punishment, there being so many avenues of such escape wide open to them. Mollycoddling prisoners and making them the subjects of misapplied sympathy by sentimentalists have aggravated these conditions.

These conclusions are supported by Edwin W. Sims, President of the Chicago Crime Commission, who has devoted three years to the study of crime in that city and has achieved a national reputation by his efficient services in that position. Mr. Sims appeared before the committee in Chicago and gave us the benefit of his experience, making many helpful suggestions. He depicted the boldness with which the professional criminals in that city had

robbed banks and business institutions in broad daylight, had killed bank and payroll messengers, and had murdered twenty-eight policemen in cold blood while they were discharging their duties—all in the three years of the existence of the Crime Commission. In some instances safeblowers had been known to remove the safe by backing up a truck and taking it to some secure place to be rifled at their leisure. "The most serious phase of the situation," Mr. Sims said, "is that the immunity of the professional criminal encourages other potential criminals to acts of lawlessness and violence."

EFFECTS OF SPEEDY PUNISHMENT

The history of organized Government demonstrates conclusively that the speedy trial of criminal cases and the swift and certain punishment of criminals promptly effects a reduction in the volume of crime. On the other hand, increased crime followed closely on the heels of delayed trials and deferred punishment. In short, crime decreases or increases in the proportion that punishment is or is not swift and certain. It was the speedy action of the vigilance committee in the frontier days of California in administering swift and certain punishment more than the severity of the punishment that brought back order to that State.

Chicago offers an illustration of the effect which the speedy trial of criminal cases has on the volume of crime. Three years ago, when the Chicago Crime Commission came into existence, the average murder rate in Chicago was about 330 annually—almost one murder per day.

On April 1, 1920, 135 persons previously indicted for murder were awaiting trial. In 104 cases the accused were at liberty on bond. In the majority of these cases so much time had elapsed since indictment that witnesses had disappeared, evidence had been lost, and successful prosecution made most difficult. The situation was brought to the attention of the courts and officials by the Crime Commission, with the result that additional Judges volunteered to try criminal cases until the murder docket was cleared. Clearing the docket resulted in the sentencing of twelve to hang and twelve to the penitentiary for

from one year to life. The effect of this action on the number of murders and other crimes of violence in Chicago was electrical. Immediately following the speedy disposition of these cases the murder rate in Chicago dropped 51 per cent., where it has since remained.

The question of foreign population in relation to crime is strikingly presented by the report, where it appears from the United States Census of 1910 that out of every 100,000 native-born white citizens there were 312.4 prisoners, while out of 100,000 of the foreign-born 732.6 were in our prisons. These facts and others not recounted by the committee naturally called for a remedy which is found in the seventh recommendation—that more stringent laws limiting and controlling immigration be enacted and enforced.

LOSS OF FAITH IN LAW

One of the most significant and pregnant sentences in the report is this, dealing with the contrast between Canada and the United States: "Finally, there prevails an undefined but palpable difference in the attitude toward the law of the two men upon the street—the Canadian and the American." A volume might be written on this one point. The writer does not believe it is possible to overstate the evils which are traceable to the pessimism of the average American in the street today. This attitude of mind is the most prolific cause of the present widespread disrespect for law. It is largely the result of the failure of the courts to enforce laws which were designed to protect the life, liberty and property of the citizen. The American is rapidly losing respect for the laws of the country, and for his Government, because he sees that these most important of all laws are not being enforced; in his ignorance of history and of the fundamental principles of our Government he becomes an easy victim to the fads which are vociferously proclaimed on every street corner as the ready panacea for all political ills.

In the meantime the plain American citizen trusts to Providence to take care of the country, while he goes on his way trying to accumulate all of the world's goods he can acquire. As shown by the report,

and as stated before the committee by many of the best-informed authorities in the country, the man in the street sees and knows that the machinery of our criminal laws in many States has almost broken down, and he becomes impatient and is inclined to draw rash conclusions as to who is to blame for it. The English and Canadians have only recently achieved success in law enforcement, and in the past they admittedly learned many lessons in good government from the United States.

The conclusions of the committee as to the so-called "crime wave" in the United States are clearly set forth from all available sources of information and from the matured opinions of experts, including that of ex-Justice John W. Goff of New York, who made a remarkably able and constructive address before us. The "crime wave" was found and still exists, in the opinion of the committee, but it is confined chiefly to crimes of violence against the person and property. The record of homicides is particularly shocking. It is estimated that 85,000 American citizens have perished in the last decade by the pistol, poison, the knife or some other unlawful and deadly instrument. The startling increase in burglaries is shown to have been 1,200 per cent. during the last decade. The data furnished to the committee by the Chicago Crime Commission—data only recently compiled at our request—illustrate most pointedly the deplorable record in State prisons in every section of the country as regards homicides. While the number of murderers in prison represents an accumulation of many years, the percentage is too great to be explained away.

The only candid way to deal with the evidence, as viewed by the committee, is to admit that *the situation in the United States, so far as crimes of violence are concerned, is worse than that in any other civilized country.* The further admission is frankly made that there is also less respect for the law here than in any of the other great nations.

CURSE OF THE PISTOL

It is further shown that deliberate murder, burglary and robbery are seldom attempted unless the criminal is armed. In

European countries the criminals, as a rule, are not armed. The evidence before the committee showed that 90 per cent. of the murders in this country are committed with pistols; that the laws prohibiting the carrying of firearms are ineffective and work to the advantage of the criminal more than to that of the law-abiding citizen. Believing that the revolver serves no useful purpose in the country, the committee recommends that *the manufacture and sale of pistols, and of cartridges and ammunition designed for use in them, be absolutely prohibited*, save as such manufacture shall be necessary for governmental and official use under proper legal regulations and control. This conclusion is strengthened by the opinion of Sir Basil Thomson, former Scotland Yard Director and British criminologist, who recently said in speaking of the act of Parliament on this subject: "One of the wisest provisions ever passed was the Pistols act, for though people are constantly found in possession of firearms without a permit, the number is comparatively small."

The saving clause in the report, which is most consolatory, is the finding that in crimes which indicate dishonesty of the people, such as larceny, extortion, counterfeiting, forgery, fraud and other forms of swindling, a comparison of conditions in this and other countries shows that the morals of the American people are better than those of any other great nation; that Americans, in the main, are honest; that commercial integrity here is of a higher standard, the lives of the citizens are cleaner, and offenses against women and children less frequent and more universally abhorred. The statement that the criminal element in this country numbers less than one-third of 1 per cent. of the entire population will doubtless be an agreeable surprise to most people, judging from the amount of space given to criminals in the newspapers, and the serious alarm, in some places amounting to terrorism, which criminals have caused for many years.

After finding that the means provided in the United States for coping with crime and criminals are neither adequate nor efficient, the next step naturally was to locate the most serious obstacle to enforcement of law. The committee was unanimous in the opinion that the attitude of the law-

abiding citizen, when called upon to aid in the administration of the law, was indifferent, if not antagonistic, for the reasons stated. The refusal of the so-called good citizen to perform jury service is illustrated by the experience of Chief Justice Scanlan in Chicago, and to a less degree, doubtless, by similar experiences of courts in almost every State in the Union.

ENFORCING THE LAW

There is no doubt of the facts stated. Disrespect for law reaches up to the highest stations in society and extends down to the lowest. It is also true that the jury, drawn from such society, has the ultimate power to pass upon criminals, and that these pernicious influences, if unchecked, will disintegrate criminal justice. Sir Basil Thomson refers to the fact that waves of crime are not unknown in England, having occurred in pre-war times, and he gives some wholesome advice as to how we may overcome these conditions — having first suppressed the carrying of pistols. After counseling against heroic remedies, he says that our police systems should be overhauled, so as to make them thoroughly effective; for when the criminal realizes that detection is certain and punishment swift and sure he will no more resort to crime than a child will thrust its hands into the fire. He also says that there must be prompt action by the courts, and that the delay between arrest and trial should be short. He calls particular attention to the fact that in London and in the United Kingdom the police have the advantage of the sympathy and assistance of practically the whole of the population, and that if public opinion is properly aroused in the United States the same conditions will apply here.

It will be noticed that the report undertakes briefly to consider the entire subject in a three-fold aspect: First, as to the extent of lawlessness in this country and a comparison with other nations; second, the causes of lawlessness, and third, the suggestion of remedies. Inasmuch as the section concerning remedies deals largely with defects in the laws of the States, which are of more direct interest to lawyers, Judges and legislators, and goes into details which are technical in their na-

ture, it is not necessary here to attempt any elucidation of it; the reader may draw his own conclusions from a careful study of it as a whole.

The final conclusion of the committee, it will be noted, is that while its recommendations and others that might have been made would improve the efficiency of the courts, it is not necessary to wait for new laws to destroy the criminal class, but that the courts should be made to enforce, honestly and fearlessly, the laws we now have. Inertia and gross neglect of duty on the part of good citizens, including all classes, and not excepting Judges, lawyers, officers of courts, editors, merchants and even ministers of religion, are responsible for the lack of civic pride, and it will require the hearty and intelligent co-operation of all classes for many years to remedy these lamentable conditions.

The only way to restore respect for law, indispensably necessary to good govern-

ment, is to organize the best elements of every community, city, county and State in the nation, to call into council the wisest and best citizens, as has been the custom in all ages among Anglo-Saxons; to elect the best and most capable public servants, and to obtain such reform legislation as may be necessary to cure known abuses step by step.

Extreme and hasty legislation will not do. Neither is it advisable to wait too long and furnish an excuse for the organization of such dangerous agencies as the Ku Klux Klan, now rapidly spreading over the country, north, south, east and west. Persistent agitation, education along the right lines in the fundamentals of our Government, with special emphasis upon English and American history, and especially the history of law reform in England during the last half century—these, with eternal vigilance, are believed to be the best means of accomplishing the much-needed ends.

Report of the Special Commission on Law Enforcement Presented at the Meeting of the American Bar Association at San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 10, 1922

To the American Bar Association:

The members of your Committee on Law Enforcement, recognizing not only the great honor conferred upon them, but also the difficulty and importance of their task, immediately after the adjournment of the convention in September last, keeping in touch with one another through their Chairman and from time to time by personal meetings, took up their work under your commission.

The first difficulty which confronted us was a discouraging dearth of official information upon the criminal situation in the United States. No other great civilized country is so far behind on this important matter.

First of all we urge the establishment, under the control of the Department of Justice at Washington, of a Federal Bureau of Records and Statistics to which criminal authorities in the several States must regularly report; that such reports, statistics, records, photographs, finger prints, &c., shall be immediately available to officers charged with enforcement of the criminal law throughout the country. Without knowledge of the real situation, it will be impossible thoroughly to diagnose or properly to deal with the problems of crime which confront us.

Up to 1910 the Government, through its Census Bureau, compiled a report of prison statistics. While lacking in some essentials, this compila-

tion still supplied much valuable information. In the census of 1920, just when the study of American criminology could accomplish most, for some unaccountable reason the Government abandoned altogether this most important subject. Police records, reports of Mayors of cities and of Coroners and prosecuting officers, and like official tabulations are seldom complete or conclusive, for the reason that for the most part they consist not of actual data of crimes proven, but only of accusations of and arrests for crimes.

Without such information before us, it was difficult to begin any thoroughly scientific investigation. However, your committee went to work at all the sources of information it could find. Several of your committee individually visited the larger cities of the country where special movements for the suppression of crime had been inaugurated.

To the north of us is a country possessing the same substantive laws, the same religions, and, for the most part, similar dominant races; in that country, however, the criminal conditions are strikingly dissimilar to our own.

We believed that an examination into the Canadian situation might be helpful in our investigation. Accordingly, one of your committee, in December of last year, visited the cities of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, and made a visit to the penitentiary at Kingston.

Inasmuch as the statistics in Chicago, owing to the work of the Chicago Crime Commission, are fairly accurate, we beg leave to offer the contrasts shown by these statistics as illuminative of the entire criminal situation.

The population of Canada is about 9,000,000, that of Cook County, Ill., about 3,000,000, and that of Chicago 2,700,000. Notwithstanding this, we find that there were in 1921:

In Joliet Penitentiary, one of the Illinois State prisons, 1,930 prisoners.

In all Canada's penitentiaries, 1,930 prisoners.

In Chicago 4,785 burglaries.

In Canada 2,270 burglaries.

In Chicago 2,594 robberies.

In Canada, robberies, including larceny from the person, 605.

In Cook County 212 murders.

In Canada 57 murders.

It will not do to say that the Canadians are naturally more law-abiding than we, for the United States census of 1910 shows that when persons born in Canada settle in the United States, they are even a little less law-abiding than the native white citizens of this country. Out of a Canadian-born population of 1,196,070 in this country in 1910, 7,956 were in our prisons, and out of the natives of seventeen foreign countries living here, Canadians ranked sixth in lawlessness.

The natives of certain European countries which have the best record for law observance, when settled here, become the most lawless of all.

These facts seem to dispose of two theories relative to crime:

First, that foreigners are more law-abiding because they are naturally so constituted.

Second, the other contention that crime is largely due to mental disease. It is absurd to contend that we are so mentally inferior to all other nations as to make this difference in crime; if so, why is it that the foreign-born criminals seldom get dementia præcox until they cross the ocean? Dr. Herman Adler and a corps of assisting psychologists spent more than a year investigating the mentality of the inmates of Joliet Penitentiary. The result of these investigations, as presented to your committee, was to the effect that the intelligence of the average prisoner equals that of the average enlisted man in our national army in the World War.

A few of the observable differences between this country and Canada may be noticed at once: Canada has but three large cities, most of its people live in smaller towns and in the country. Further, the administrators of the criminal law in Canada are absolutely beyond the reach of politics. The Chief of Police in any Canadian city is secure in his office for life if he makes good; so is every other policeman in Canada. The police force is a compactly organized semi-military body. The Judge is there for life, and so, practically, if he so desire, is the Prosecuting Attorney.

Then, too, while the substantive law is the same as our own, the methods of its application are altogether different. Justice is swift and

certain. When a Canadian is convicted, in 99 cases out of 100 that ends the matter. The Minister of Justice may, it is true, interfere if it appears that perhaps the defendant has been convicted on insufficient proof. A large proportion of even the more serious cases are tried by the Judge without a jury.

WHY CRIME FLOURISHES

As was stated to your committee, crime flourishes because criminals escape punishment, and criminals escape punishment because there are so many avenues of escape open. The prevalence of the abnormal volume of crime in our larger cities is the result of years of mollycoddling and sympathy by misinformed and ill-advised meddlers.

In Canada the penalties imposed for crime are far more severe than our own. In fact, the theory there seems to involve protection to the public, with only a secondary concern for the criminal.

Again, the general character of our immigrants is different. The Canadian population is homogeneous, ours inextricably heterogeneous. Several European countries encourage emigration to the United States. Some undoubtedly encourage criminal emigration.

Prior to 1900 we had fewer foreign-born criminals than native-born. The Immigration Commission appointed by the Sixty-first Congress reported that while this was then true, nevertheless the children of the foreign-born, together with the foreign-born, contributed a larger percentage of criminals, in proportion to their number, than the native-born whites.

As shown by the United States Census of 1910, page 110, out of 100,000 of the native-born white population there were 312.4 prisoners; out of 100,000 of the foreign-born 732.6 were in our prisons.

Finally, there prevails an undefined but palpable difference in the attitude toward the law of the two men upon the street—the Canadian and the American. There exists in some of the European races an inherited fear of law. This fear comes from a time scarcely a century away when the punishment of every serious crime was death for the offender. The races that live across our northern border have not wholly broken away from that influence.

Following these investigations, your committee, in order to ascertain at first hand the conditions of affairs in the several centres of population, held open sessions: in Washington March 6 and 7, in Chicago April 10 and 11, in Joliet Penitentiary April 12, in New York June 1 and 2, and a final conference in St. Paul July 10 and 11. At these sessions a number of leading penologists and criminologists appeared and testified.

In Joliet Prison half a dozen of the more intelligent criminals gave us the attitude of the criminal mind.

We have been favored with some thousands of pages of printed and typewritten matter, most of which is of importance and has received our careful attention.

As to whether there actually exists a so-called

crime wave in this country, we respectfully report:

In 1880 there were 30,659 prisoners in our penitentiaries; in 1890, 45,233; in 1904, 53,292; in 1910, 58,800. At our solicitation the Crime Commission of Chicago sent a questionnaire to the eighty-five Wardens of State and Federal prisons in this country, asking that information be sent us as to the size and character of their prison population.

From all the data and opinions of experts which your committee has been able to gather, we beg leave to report that—particularly since 1890—there has been, and continues, a widening, deepening tide of lawlessness in this country, sometimes momentarily receding, to swell again into greater depth and intensity. At intervals this tide billows into waves that rise and break, but only for a time attracting public attention.

In a statement made before your committee, ex-Justice John W. Goff, ex-Recorder of New York, summed up the situation thus:

"Officials in some cities claim there is no crime wave. The newspapers throughout the country claim that there is a wave of crime.

"Be that as it may, it is not for this committee, or any one addressing it, to enter into a discussion whether it exists or not; but, at all events, I think it can be safely stated that in the history of this country we have never been before confronted with anything like the criminal conditions we have today. * * * Not a day passes that there is not recounted in the newspapers some terrible outrage involving robbery and murder. * * * In my humble judgment, the cardinal fault in the administration of criminal justice today is the lack of promptness and finality in the administration of the law. Statutory regulation and amendment may be of some use, but all statutory legislation has had a tendency within the last quarter of a century in favor of the criminal."

WORST IN THE WORLD

The criminal situation in the United States, so far as crimes of violence are concerned, is worse than that in any other civilized country. Here there is less respect for law. While your committee cannot obtain the exact figures, from all available sources of information we estimate that there were more than 9,500 unlawful homicides last year in this country; that in 1920 there occurred not less than 9,000 such homicides, and that in no year during the past ten years did the number fall below 8,500. In other words, during the last ten years, no less than 85,000 of our citizens have perished by poison, by the pistol or the knife, or by some other unlawful and deadly instrument.

Burglaries have increased in this country during the past ten years 1,200 per cent.

In short, our situation today appears almost as bad as that of England, France, Italy and Spain as late as 1837, as portrayed by Lord Bowen.

Another important phase of this situation deserves careful attention. We deem it important to note the material difference between the character of crime conditions prevailing here and

those abroad. Our regrettable eminence is due in most part to crimes of violence against the person and property. In 1910, out of the 58,800 confined in our State and Federal prisons, 15,316, or more than 25 per cent. of all prisoners, had committed homicides. While of course this number includes the accumulation of years, this awful fact still bears its own significance.

The evidence before us shows that there has been since 1910 a steady and terrible increase not only in homicides, but also in burglaries and robberies. One State has in its different prisons 3,547 inmates; of these 1,429 are guilty of taking the lives of human beings. Taken at random, a few prison records showing the number incarcerated for homicide on the 1st of January of this year will illustrate the general situation:

TYPICAL PRISON RECORDS

	Population.	Homicides
California, San Quentin.....	2,565	482
Nevada	150	26
Idaho	295	50
New Mexico.....	358	77
Delaware	349	28
New Jersey, Trenton....	1,286	290
Kentucky	544	169
Joliet, Illinois	1,930	454
North Dakota	235	26
Georgia	3,547	1,429
South Dakota	320	*
Indiana	1,451	332
Mississippi	1,590	641
Iowa	755	144

* No murders; 5 manslaughter.

Deliberate murder, burglary and robbery will seldom be attempted unless the criminal is armed. In European countries the criminals, as a rule, are not armed.

On the other hand, in crimes which indicate the dishonesty of the people, such as larceny, extortion, counterfeiting, forgery, fraud and other crimes of swindling, a comparison of conditions demonstrates that the morals of this country are better than in any other of the large countries of the world. The American people are an honest people; commercial integrity here works to a higher standard than in any other land, the morality of the country is higher, the lives of its citizens are cleaner, offenses against women and children are less frequent and more universally abhorred.

The criminals of this country number less than one-third of 1 per cent. of the entire population. One serious obstacle to the enforcement of the criminal law arises from the attitude of the law-abiding citizen when called upon to aid in its actual administration. The American temperament adjusts itself to sympathy with the accused and a corresponding disregard for the rights of the public. In cases where much public feeling is aroused the man of affairs too often deserts

the cause of justice. Chief Justice Scanlan of the Criminal Court of Chicago, referring to some labor trials in his court a few years ago, said:

"Three hundred and eighty business men were called for jury service and 379 of them perjured themselves out of the jury box."

Want of sympathy, if not actual disrespect for the law, reaches up to the highest stations and extends down to the lowest. The ultimate enforcement of the law rests upon the jury box. If the average American citizen had without sympathy or prejudice performed his duty this terrible record would not have to be written.

In a general way the committee has endeavored to consider the question in a threefold aspect:

First, the extent of lawlessness in this country and a comparison as between the conditions in this country and those in other civilized nations.

Second, the causes of lawlessness.

Third, suggestions as to possible remedies.

Crime and lawlessness in the United States have been steadily on the increase and out of proportion to our growth, and there has been a steady and growing disrespect for law. In our opinion this is not a result of the war. We do not find the proportional increase in crime from 1915 to 1922 greater than from 1910 to 1916, and we have not been able to discover that crimes of violence have materially increased in France, England or Canada during or since the war, although the effects of the war naturally must be more marked in those countries.

VERDICT OF THE COMMITTEE

It is our united opinion that the means provided in the United States for coping with crime and criminals are today neither adequate nor efficient; for example:

First, we find that the parole and probation laws, as administered, very generally fail to accomplish the purposes for which the laws were designed and weaken the administration of criminal justice. We recommend that first offenders, and first offenders only, should be eligible for probation. The theory of the law, of course, is that the prisoner, on account of his good conduct, and where it has been demonstrated in the opinion of expert parole authorities that it is safe for the public generally, should be released. It is unquestionably true that in substantially all of the cases, no matter what the crime nor how hardened the criminal, the boards of parole, with little if any discrimination, have released the prisoner at the end of the minimum of the sentence. Those responsible for such administration overlook the purposes of punishment as a deterrent, disregard utterly the safety of the public, and defeat the very purpose of the law. We recommend that the indeterminate sentence laws should be modified so as to apply to first offenders only, and we believe, too, that neither probation nor parole should be permitted those convicted of homicide, burglary, rape or highway robbery.

Second, we find that over 90 per cent. of the murders in this country are committed by the use of pistols. We find that the laws prohibiting the carrying of firearms or deadly weap-

ons are ineffective—in fact, that they work to the benefit of the criminal rather than of the law-abiding citizen. The revolver serves no useful purpose in the community today. We recommend that the manufacture and sale of pistols, and of cartridges or ammunition designed to be used in them, shall be absolutely prohibited, save as such manufacture shall be necessary for governmental and official use under proper legal regulation and control.

Third, we find the causes for delay in criminal cases so varied and the conditions so differing that we hesitate to make specific recommendations. Certainly it is true that the criminals and not the public benefit by these delays. The Constitution provides: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy trial." As every one familiar with criminal prosecution knows, this is the kind of enjoyment that few charged with crime desire.

Dilatory motions, such as motions to inspect the Grand Jury minutes, which the trial Judge may take under consideration almost indefinitely; motions for an order dismissing an indictment, from which, if granted, the prosecution in many of our States has no right to appeal; adjournments on account of other engagements of counsel, a privilege greatly abused in some jurisdictions, and many other causes for delay, all accrue to the benefit of the lawbreaker.

We recommend that the State be given every right to appeal now enjoyed by a defendant—except from a verdict of not guilty, and we recommend that the prosecutor in a criminal trial shall have the right to call the attention of the jury to the fact that the defendant has failed to take the stand or has failed himself to contradict or deny the testimony offered by the prosecution.

We recommend that the State be given the right to amend the indictment upon proper terms in matters of form.

We recommend that there should be but one appeal from a judgment of conviction in the trial court.

We recommend that there be enacted legislation limiting the time during which Judges or courts may hold under advisement dilatory motions made in criminal trials; that at the expiration of such time, without action, such a motion shall be deemed to be denied.

Fourth, we find that in some of the States the jury is the final judge both of the law and the facts. The court may inform the jurors as to the law, but he must instruct them that while he has expressed his opinion they must be the final judges, not only as to the facts but as to the law and its application to the evidence. Thus it is clearly within the power of jurors absolutely to nullify the laws of a sovereign State, and there is no appeal on the part of the Government from their determination. We believe that such a condition is absolutely subversive of a government of law and we recommend the repeal of such statutes.

Fifth, we find in various jurisdictions glaring abuses in the matter of bail, both in the amounts imposed and in the sufficiency of security offered.

Sixth, we find that further legislation should be enacted by the Congress to punish and prevent lynching and mob violence.

Seventh, we find that the bill now pending in the Congress, increasing the number of United States District Judges and conferring powers upon the Chief Justice and Senior Circuit Judges to have supervision over the work of the courts and see that the dockets are kept clear, should be enacted.

Ninth, no meritorious case, whether civil or criminal, that is cognizable in the courts of the country ought to be denied the services of an able, courageous and loyal advocate. And no man or woman, however humble, ought to be able to say in any American community that justice is too expensive for the poor. We therefore urge that in every community the members of this association volunteer to aid, without fee, the worthy poor who are being oppressed, defrauded or otherwise wronged, and who have not means to employ counsel.

Tenth, first offenders must be segregated from veteran criminals, for the jails throughout the

land today are breeding places for crime, and the young and thoughtless who may often be reclaimed are taught by professional criminals to scorn the restraints of society; and in this connection we may well consider the extension of psychopathic laboratories established as adjuncts to the criminal courts.

From what has been intimated, many more specific recommendations could have been made which, if adopted, might improve the efficiency of our courts. But in the opinion of the committee it is not necessary to wait another day, or to wait for new laws. Such laws would be helpful, but if we honestly and thoroughly enforce those which we already have we shall have traveled a long way toward the solution of the problem.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM B. SWANEY, *Chairman*,
MARCUS KAVANACH,

CHARLES S. WHITMAN,
WADE H. ELLIS,

CHARLES W. FARNHAM,
Committee.

FIGHTING ILLEGAL LIQUOR IMPORTS

IMPORTS of wines and liquors were banned, July 25, by Commissioner

Blair of the Internal Revenue Department, until supplies already in the country for non-beverage uses should prove insufficient to meet the national requirements. Drastic new regulations were issued by the Commissioner governing the entrance of alcoholic beverages into the country, designed to shut off one illegal source of supply.

"No permit for the importation of spirits will be granted," the regulations stated, "until the amount of such liquor in the distilleries or other bonded warehouses shall, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, have been so reduced that additional supplies shall be necessary to supply the current need for all non-beverage use. No permit for the importation of wine shall be granted until, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the wine for non-beverage use, produced in this country, is not sufficient to meet such non-beverage needs."

It was announced on July 24 that the British Government had received a note from the Washington Government asking for co-operation in suppression of liquor-running into the United States through Bermuda and the Bahamas. The United States Government was informed that the British Government was seeking the necessary information, and was communicating with the authorities in Bermuda and the Bahamas to ascertain the truth of allegations concerning false clearance papers and other things. The question was complicated by the transfer of the registries of ships.

Pending the receipt of an official communication on the subject from the London Foreign Office, comment was refused at the United States State Department on the nature of the American note, although no attempt was made to conceal the fact that diplomatic steps had been taken with a view to aiding Federal prohibition enforcement officers. The question is one that still awaits settlement.

THE TRUE COMMUNISTS OF RUSSIA

By JAMES P. GOODRICH
Former Governor of Indiana



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GOVERNOR GOODRICH

EDITORIAL NOTE—James Putnam Goodrich was Governor of Indiana during the World War. Noted for his keen interest in Russian affairs, he holds the unique record of having made three visits to Soviet Russia within less than two years. The passing by the United States Congress of the \$20,000,000 appropriation for famine relief in Russia was largely due to Governor Goodrich's testimony on Russian conditions before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Politically, he takes a liberal view of the Russian situation, a fact which stands out in strong relief in the present article on the soundest element of present-day Russian life—the peasant commune.

An eminent American observer's description of Russia's peasant communes, which, undeterred by war, revolution and Bolshevism, have perpetuated their democratic traditions

N EARLY every one in America nowadays thinks of Russia in terms of socialism. To many of us, the Russian Commune and communism seem synonymous. Yet, as a matter of fact, none of the peoples in Russia were so little affected by the Red revolution as the peasants who go to make up the communes. In ancient times, the Russian peasant was among the freest men in Europe. Owning his land and cultivating it under communal laws and customs that were the growth of centuries, the peasant was a free citizen, independent in every respect. The peasants of the self-governing villages of today are the true communists of Russia.

The Russian peasant, however, is not a communist in the sense that we ordinarily give to the term, nor is he an internationalist. He is a strict individualist and a patriot. He jealously guards as his own that which he produces through his own labor, and he loves Russia with a fervor that would surprise the average foreigner to whom the mention of Russia calls up only menacing visions of the Third International.

In the fact that the Russian peasant is so staunch an individualist lies the principal reason why Sovietism has done so little to affect the even tenor of his political existence. The Soviet leaders well knew the peasant's theory concerning his own property, which, of course, consists principally of the crop he raises each year on the communal land; and when the industries of the country were nationalized no direct attempt was made to nationalize the lands of the peasantry. Instead, the Soviet Government attempted during the

first two years to accomplish the desired end indirectly by a system of requisitions that was intended to appropriate all the surplus crop the peasant raised, leaving him only enough for feeding his family and carrying on his farm operations. In return for this, the State was to furnish the peasant all the products of industry required by him, and especially his clothing and agricultural machinery. To guard against hoarding foodstuffs, the peasant was forbidden under severe penalties to sell his surplus products.

The peasants rightly regarded this as a confiscation of their savings. They were little content with the fact that they were obliged to feed the cities without receiving anything in return, and met the situation by reducing their crops each year to the point where they would produce a much smaller surplus. Bowing to the inevitable, the Government began rapidly to reduce the requisitions from the peasants, and finally this year has reduced the tax to a point that would be regarded as reasonable, even by the average American, who is so sensitive on the subject of taxation, and has given the peasant the right freely to sell his surplus in the open market. Thus the peasant has won his fight, and the Government has been compelled to admit that "there is no power that can socialize fifteen million small peasant farms by means of a national decree." Lenin, in announcing his new economic policy, admitted that the reconstruction of Russia must be established on the basis of self-interest, and that the peasants could be induced to produce only by giving to them the fruits of their labor.

THE PEASANT COMMUNE

I have pointed out at the beginning of this article the fallacy of identifying the Russian Peasant Commune with communism as understood politically today. The peasant commune, or Mir (literally world), is a thoroughly democratic, self-governing body, and is not the result of communism as we know it. It is of ancient origin, has come down to modern civilization as an offshoot of the old tribal system, and the Russian peasant has lived under its form of government for centuries. There are both Russian communes

and German communes in the famine-devastated regions of the Volga valley, and they are substantially alike in their form of government. The Germans, to the number of 400,000, went to Russia about 175 years ago, at the invitation of Catherine the Great, and settled in the Volga basin. From these colonies hundreds of thousands have come to America, settling largely in Illinois, Nebraska, the Dakotas and on the Pacific slope, while many more have gone into Siberia. In common with their Russian neighbors, they adopted the modified form of the local Russian Government or village Mir, the oldest and most interesting form of communism in the world.

In these village communes the peasants hold their land in common, the title resting in the commune, which alone can dispose of it. The one exception is that the peasant is the owner of his home in the commune; this includes the yard attached, which is always small, usually not over 150 feet square. In some communes the peasant may own a small tract for his garden and orchard. But communism stops here. The commune recognizes the right of the worker to own and hold the title to such personal property as he may accumulate, and to dispose of it as he sees fit. In this respect the communist is a strict individualist. He recognizes the right of no government to take away from him the reward for that which he has produced by his own labor.

The method of administering the commune follows that of the old New England town meeting. Meetings of the communes are held at frequent intervals, the frequency and the date of the meetings being determined by the commune itself, and at these meetings the male members of the communes who are heads of families are entitled to vote. The vote is ordinarily taken by raising the hand in assent to or dissent from the matter proposed. In one commune during my visit to the Volga region, I found that, since the famine, meetings are held every Sunday immediately after church. All the communes which I visited held meetings at least once each month. At the communal meetings all matters of common interest are discussed and appropriate action taken. Committees are appointed to settle certain matters.

The question of fertilizers, seed grains, crop valuation, the time and manner of sowing, the best method of cultivation, taxation, allotment of lands and all other matters of community interest are discussed.

The officers of the commune in most instances are elected twice a year, at meetings called for the purpose and at which only the heads of the families vote. In some communes, however, elections are held annually. This is a matter which each commune determines for itself. The officers elected comprise what is known as the Council of Thirty, which might be called the legislative branch of the commune. In it is vested all the authority of the commune during the intervals between the meetings of the commune itself.

At the annual or semiannual meeting of the commune, held for the election of officers, the executive officers are chosen. They are usually called the president and secretary of the commune. The secretary keeps all the books and records, and in the German communes these are usually carefully and accurately kept. In the Russian communes these records are ordinarily not so accurate, as the genuine Russian is apt to be more careless in most things than his neighbor of Teutonic extraction. These communal records show the number of people in the commune, the heads of families, the children, and include a record of the births, deaths and marriages. A record is also kept of the number of desiatins of grains planted, of seeds sowed, and of the yield and value of the crops. This record is sent to the central office of the province and from there to the Russian capital. The German communes, in addition, send copies of their records to Markstadt, their communal capital, so that the figures may be available there.

ALLOTTING THE LAND

One of the important duties of the commune is to allot the land to the various members of the commune for cultivation. This allotment is always made on the basis of the number of people in the commune, each member receiving a share of land in proportion to the number of persons in his family. The frequency with which the allotments are to be made is determined

by each commune for itself. Usually the allotment of land is made for one year only, but in some instances the allotment stands for two or three years. In other instances the period is indeterminate, the allotment standing as made until the commune itself determines that the situation demands a new allotment. Sometimes the allotment is made in groups, so that if a number of families prefer, they can have their land allotted to their group in one consignment, pool their horses and farming implements, and so work their ground more efficiently.

It will readily be seen that though the duty of the commune to allot the land is fixed, and the right of the individual to receive a share in the communal land is vested in him without prejudice, the directive machinery is always in the hands of the commune. The pasture and woodlands, the willow, marsh and peat lands also are owned by the commune, which has the right of allotting and governing these. Recently the Soviet Government recommended to the communes that all allotments in the communes be made permanent, thus giving the individual a certain title to the land, or rather the right of permanent occupation—a recommendation dangerously near to recognizing the right of private property in land, and certainly singular, coming as it did from a socialistic government. So far as I could learn, not a single commune had acted on the recommendation. The peasants seem to prefer the old communal form, which has come down to them from their forefathers and has survived famine, pestilence and revolution.

Under the method of allotment, it is easily possible that a man's land may be distant five or six versts, and, in the larger communes, even ten versts from his home. This has resulted in the devising of plans whereby the occupants of adjoining allotments of land in the more distant districts often join together, pooling their horses, oxen, camels and farming implements, pooling their labor, going to their distant allotments and working together until the planting is completed, then joining forces to harvest the crops later in the season.

The scheme of allotting the lands has of course made the individual farm and the semi-isolated farm home, as we know it

in America, impossible in Russia. I did not see in all that part of rural Russia which I traversed a single isolated peasant home. The homes of these people, by the very nature of the communal agreements, are necessarily concentrated in the villages. There is no right of continuous possession which makes home building, as we know it, practicable or even possible, in any other place than the peasant village or communal centre from which radiates the life of the commune.

The Russian communes for many years before the revolution transacted much of their business through the co-operative societies, which were very strong in Russia, having a membership of about eighty millions. Through these societies the Russian peasant marketed his surplus food-stuffs, and through them he purchased his needed supplies. The disastrous economic breakdown in Russia has greatly hampered the activities of these organizations, but with the resumption of free trading under the new policy they will again resume their old place in the life of the Russian commune and become an important factor in the upbuilding of the republic.

In addition to the administration of strictly communal affairs, the commune exercises certain rights in the government of the province and of the Soviet Republic. Each commune selects a representative to the State or Provincial Assembly, each of which in turn elects a representative to the All-Russian Council, or Soviet Assembly. The only qualification to membership in either body is that the representative must be an industrial worker or a peasant.

During the early days of the revolution, and during the civil war which followed, the Soviet Government frequently interfered in the election of local officials and of representatives, recommending the selection of certain men to these positions. Needless to say, these recommendations were nearly always followed. This interference, however, so far as I could learn, is no longer directly practiced, and the communes, at least technically, are permitted to choose their own representatives. It is obvious, however, that so long as the elections are by the showing of hands instead of by secret ballot, and so

long as the "Che-Ka," or Extraordinary Commission, is actively in existence, under whatever name it masquerades,* and retains unlimited authority throughout the provinces, including the power to condemn to death without formal open trial, men will hesitate to vote adversely to the Government at Moscow. Revolutions may come and go, but Russia is still Russia. Many years must elapse before it can resemble America.

Certain other duties have come to the commune through the revolution. It must now apportion the Government requisitions, that is, the taxes, as we would call them in America. The Soviet Government no longer goes into the commune itself to levy tribute. It finds it simpler and easier to say that a commune with a fixed number of *desiatins* of land shall pay a certain tax; this tax is to be paid in grain, live stock, butter and other produce. It then devolves upon the commune to assess the burden as equitably as possible against its individual members.

A CONSERVATIVE FORCE

Such is the typical Russian commune, its centre a primitive village numbering from a few hundred to many thousand "souls," with its rough, unimproved streets, its unassuming, often squalid peasant homes, its church and its bazaar, where all the marketing is done in Oriental fashion. Each commune is a unit, a miniature world unto itself, pursuing the even tenor of its way with little outside interference. Telephones are few and newspapers ever fewer. Little wonder, then, that changes in the Central Government are viewed so calmly here.

In these Russian homes are to be found the steady, conservative forces of Russia. However much the intellectuals may theorize, they will never put their theories to the pragmatic test while 80 per cent. of the people live in the communes. Alexandra Kollontai [a well-known woman member of the Russian Communist Party] and her followers may say as much as

* The Che-Ka was formally abolished on Feb. 8, 1922, by decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Comm.tee, and certain of its vital powers, including suppression of counter-revolutionary movements, were transferred to the Commissariat of Internal Affairs.—EDITOR.

they please that "the old form of the family is passing away—the Communist society has no use for it," but the Russian peasant, like the American farmer, will go his way, marrying and giving in marriage and rearing his family in the good old-fashioned way. Similarly, the Communist Party may denounce the Church and declare it to be "the opiate of a capitalistic order to keep the proletarian satisfied with his poor estate," but the Russian peasant, who is deeply religious, will continue to erect and maintain churches in every commune in his native land, and to answer the call of the church bells each Sabbath morning. He will still have the priests baptize his children, solemnize the marriages and march in solemn procession before the wagon that carries him to his last resting place. He will have the little sacred ikons in his home and erect them along his highways, so that the traveler may kneel before them and receive a blessing as he passes by.

I visited many of these communes; I slept in the homes of their people and ate at their tables. They are a simple, kind-hearted, honest people, very much like the American farmer in many ways, and I like them much. Twenty million of them, mostly peasants, live in the famine-devastated regions of the Volga valley. The number of communes represented by this figure can easily be estimated, taking the average commune of 2,000 people as a unit. Many of these people have died from starvation and the diseases which accompany serious undernourishment. Many thousands more will perish before the Volga people produce another self-sustaining crop, and a big percentage of these will be innocent children. With true Oriental fatalism they accept it stoically. Famine has occurred before, and will occur again. When food is scarce, some in the communes must perish in order that others may live. "It is fate," these patient Russians will tell you, and they do not complain because some of their neighbors may be a little better provided with food than they.

RUSSIA AND AMERICA

They have but one hope, which may well be called an abiding faith, and that

is in America. To them big "Uncle Sam" across the seas is the greatest St. Nicholas the world has ever known. Uncle Sam's money is good, they say, "his bank always pays," and, strange as it may seem, they will take his Federal Reserve notes in preference to certificates payable in gold. And Uncle Sam has not deserted them. It was a wonderful message filled with the Christmas spirit that flashed across the seas to the starving millions in the Russian communes after President Harding signed the relief bill on Dec. 23, 1921, and carried life and salvation to many a Russian home. This money has been spent to relieve not only physical suffering but actual starvation. It has meant, still means, not merely comfort to these people, but life itself, life to hundreds of thousands of helpless, innocent children who otherwise would perish.

The generous impulses which this magnificent gift to a starving people will awaken in ourselves, the gratifying national feeling we will have because of a good deed well done, will be worth more than it has cost us in dollars and cents. If we received nothing more than the satisfaction of having performed a duty to humanity, we could account ourselves well paid. But we are building better than we know. We are again proving to all the world that in America human sympathy outweighs material achievement, and in the heart of a giant nation, which is about to awaken from a long sleep, we are planting seeds of affection, of common understanding, that some day will flourish and stand us in good stead, materially as well as sentimentally or morally. Let there be no mistake about it: in the not distant future the Russian giant will awaken, throw off the shackles of inefficiency and, no longer hampered by the tyranny of the autocrat, will become a driving force in the affairs of the world. His friendship and his affection will not then be despised, even by so strong a country as our own.

Many times in the past Russia has demonstrated its friendship for the United States. We are now repaying that friendship in a time of direst need. We have nothing in the way of possessions that a Russian republic would covet. Like America, Russia need yet find no outlet for her increasing population. Inherently, the

Russian, like the American, is not a militarist but a man of peace. Therefore, when the real Russian republic comes into being—and it will come into being sooner than many of us realize—the traditional friendship of the two biggest nations in

the old and new worlds will go on uninterrupted. And it will be in the future, as in the past, not a friendship formed for conquest, but for a mutual understanding and good will that will make only for peace and progress.

NEARLY SIXTY MILLIONS FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF

HERBERT HOOVER, Chairman of the American Relief Administration, has presented to President Harding a report of the work of the organization up to July 1, when authority for use of the Grain Corporation funds in relief of the Russian famine expired. The work includes other countries of Europe aided under authority of an act of Congress. The total of materials handled is summarized as follows, the figures representing short tons:

	Tons.
Cereals for seed and food.....	666,615
Beans and peas and special seeds.....	9,295
Condensed and evaporated milk.....	55,111
Sugar	15,464
Fats	9,277
Cocoa	3,395
Medical supplies, clothing, sundries.....	2,721
Total	788,878

The estimated resources from all quarters up to the end of the campaign are given by Mr. Hoover as follows:

General funds of American Relief Administration, food remittances, sundry donations.....	\$17,500,000
Congressional authorization for food and seed (total available funds of U. S. Grain Corporation).....	19,300,000
Congressional authorization of war supplies, medical supplies.....	4,000,000
American Red Cross medical supplies.	3,600,000
Jewish Joint Distribution Committee..	2,325,000
Laura Spelman Memorial.....	500,000
Gold supplied by Soviet Government..	11,433,000
National Lutheran Council.....	300,000
Menonite Central Committee.....	200,000
Volga Relief Society.....	200,000
Federal Council of Churches.....	90,000
International Committee Y. M. C. A..	50,000
Total	\$59,498,000

Mr. Hoover continues:

Under the stipulations of our agreement with the Russian authorities, they have furnished all internal transportation, warehouses, distribution and equipment at their own cost. Furthermore, the Relief Administration deducts a margin for the service of remitting food orders from persons in the United States to specific persons in Russia. The amount realized from this margin will apparently exceed the overhead of the administration and becomes a substantial contribution to the children's relief. Therefore, no single cent of administration or distribution cost has been deducted from Congressional funds or donations through this organization.

In addition to the above amounts, the Friends Service Committee, as the result of public appeals, has purchased \$415,000 of supplies from the A. R. A. and has made some direct shipments to its own distribution agencies. Furthermore, the various Communist committees in the United States have secured public charity for supplies sent directly to the Soviet authorities, estimated by them at about \$6500,000.

The A. R. A. administrative personnel at home and abroad comprise about 200 Americans with about 80,000 Russians under their direction. They were conducting 15,700 kitchens and distributing stations, feeding in round numbers about 3,250,000 children and 5,300,000 adults, a total of about 8,550,000 persons. This number will somewhat increase up to harvest.

I am advised by our Russian staff that the Relief Administration is now reaching all accessible persons whose lives are in jeopardy and that the loss of life directly due to starvation ceased some time since, though almost every one in Russia is hungry.

In conclusion Mr. Hoover states his belief that the effort of American relief has checked and virtually ended one of the greatest catastrophes that followed the war. He says there is a deep feeling of gratitude in the minds of the Russian people and feels sure that the results will be of lasting satisfaction to Americans.

VITAL FORCES IN CHINA TODAY

By PAUL S. REINSCH

United States Minister to China, 1913-19, Counselor to the Chinese Government Since 1920

A brief account of some amazing changes that are going on beneath the troubled surface of Chinese life—How the provinces, stung by Japanese aggression, have begun far-reaching reforms

MOST Americans would be surprised to be told that, from the point of view of social organization and order, China is at the present moment one of the soundest and stablest countries in the world. The accounts of battles and political troubles which have filled the press of late are indeed disturbing to our ideas of sovereignty and law; yet, when seen from the point of view of Chinese life, these disturbances are found to be superficial and by no means vital. They do not reach down deeply into the great popular interests and activities. While politicians are wrangling, the scores of millions of farmers till their soil, the merchants trade, the factory and guild workmen turn out products; in general, commerce and industry flourish, except in the few spots where temporarily the outrages of civil warfare are causing them to suffer.

The vast Chinese population has hitherto been quite apathetic to general politics. The people live close to the soil,

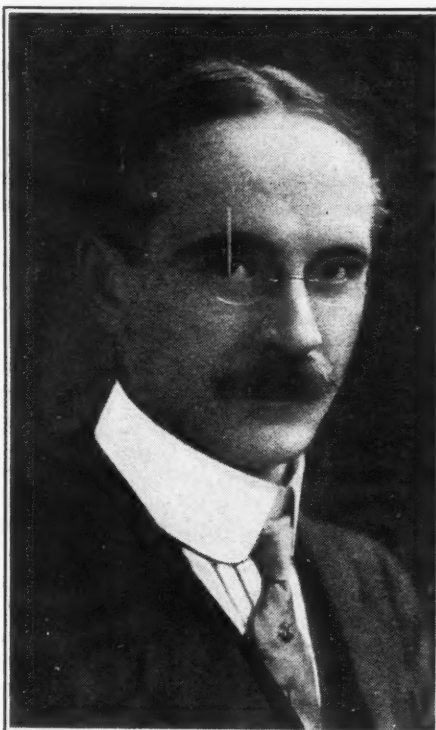


Photo Press Illustrating Service

DR. PAUL S. REINSCH

among their clansmen, within the reach of their local interests, their family gatherings, village theatres and temple festivals; a life monotonous, indeed, in its even tenor, yet enlivened with many diversions and made endurable by the joy in workmanship which still exists in China. While superficial observers will say the people are content because they do not know any better, those who have more knowledge and experience will tell you, "Go to the countryside and the villages if you wish to see the true beauty and charm of Chinese life."

It is interesting to inquire whether these vast masses, living

according to their immemorial traditions, can be affected at all by modern ideas brought in from without. It is easy to overestimate the strength of any new movement, because unaccustomed action or the enthusiasm of an eager minority may attract disproportionate attention. Yet if it is a minority of active young men, bankers, merchants, teachers,

their ideas may soon impress themselves upon the entire social life of their country. Any visitor to China cannot fail to be impressed with the many evidences of movement and transformation among the Chinese people. In Canton and Shanghai even the laborers have effected a new form of organization quite different from that of the guilds and built upon the modern idea of the solidarity of labor.

Generally speaking, the Chinese have no talent for organization in the abstract, such as is found in our corporations or fiduciary trusts. In their life the direct human relationship has always counted for everything. Abstract ideas, lying beyond duties and interests embodied in actual human beings known to each other, have been of little effect; and accordingly the abstract forms of Western organization do not readily take root in China. They do not attach themselves to the moral strength that resides in Chinese social relationships. It is different with anything that rests upon a common human interest, such as that which binds labor together. The Chinese social units that are alive are those of tradesmen, of fellow-provincials, of clansmen, and recently of the laborers in the large centres of population, who are beginning to be conscious of their common human interest. But the attempt to form political parties, based on general principles of public action, has not as yet been successful.

There is in China no carefully elaborated plan of reform and transition from old to new, worked out by Government experts and handed down to the people for their guidance. But everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land men are thinking and planning independently and of their own accord. This gives the impression of confusion—like the tumultuous waves on the surface of the sea—but the depths beneath are quiet and normal; such currents, eddies and counter-currents, in fact, evince the presence of a far greater force than would abide in a nicely canalized stream.

Wherever one goes in China one finds a spirit of planning and of curiosity for the new. Wherever three or four men meet together they discuss plans and proposals for enterprises—industrial and edu-

cational. Among men of intellectual interests, conversation drifts readily to the relations of the old life of China and the new forces brought in by contact with the West. Everything is in germination. Men are not taking the existing order for granted, though they adhere to its social discipline. They are seeking for light from every possible source.

What is going on in China today differs widely from what happened in Japan a generation or two ago. There, political society was closely organized, under the leadership of certain clans. A few men did the planning and thinking. By degrees certain elements of Western civilization were adopted, but there was no deep-going influence or transformation, no searching inquiry into the fundamental relationships between Japanese and Western civilization. So the two have continued to run along side by side in distinct, unmingling streams—the Japanese social morale and the outer investiture of Western civilization with its machinery and guns. But the spirits of East and West have not wrestled in the soul of Japan; the effort has been to keep that soul intact. There has been no transfusion and assimilation. Modernization has proceeded by degrees, and is confined to the outer processes of industrial and political life. The new spirit of life has not prevailed, except that Japan's materialistic tendencies have been further reinforced by the industrial materialism borrowed from the West.

In China there is no such orderly official procedure as has guided transition from old to new in Japan; but, on the contrary, there is a whole nation of people thinking out this problem for themselves. Action is not clean cut and systematic as in an official regulation or manifesto. Wherever people gather they go to work in their own way to solve the problems before them, as their immemorial civilization is confronted with new forces and ideas.

In the intellectual life of China today there are two main tendencies. Though they sometimes conflict and contradict each other, they run along on the whole as parallel currents without mutual conflict, even in a way supplementing each other. They are the movements of Renaissance and of Modernization. Those

whose action and thought belong rather to the former are at work on a thorough review of the traditional institutions and practices of China, and are aiming to bring about the revival of those elements which seem most important in the light of the future needs of the nation. They strive to inspire with new vitality the somewhat faded philosophical and moral system of China, to bring it into relation to modern life and to make it respond to the newly recognized needs of the nation.

The men in the Modernization movement, on the other hand, apply their critical faculty to the elements of the Western civilization. They scan them with a view to meeting the needs of China. The applicability of Western methods and ideals to the future life of their great race is what primarily interests them. The followers of both movements are united in an underlying confidence in the national genius of China. One group emphasizes more specially the things which China herself will contribute to the future life of her own people and of the world; the other, those teachings of foreign experience which are adapted to Chinese needs.

SIGNIFICANT REFORMS

One of the greatest reforms now being attempted in China relates to the Chinese language itself. I do not here refer to the phonetic writing of Chinese, to which, indeed, a great deal of attention is being devoted, but which is still in the experimental stage. It would seem that the chief usefulness of this new notation will be in standardizing the pronunciation of the Mandarin dialect throughout China. It has not yet been found feasible entirely to displace the old word signs by the simpler writing. The new notation is run alongside the ancient script in order to indicate the right pronunciation. Nevertheless, as simple matters may indeed be set forth in this new writing, and as there are even already a number of newspapers published in it, it is possible that it may develop into a useful literary instrument.

The reform which I had in mind is the one dealing with the essentials of the language itself, rather than with the form of writing. It is the vernacular or conversational style that is of the greatest importance, because it represents a desire

to bring the Chinese written language into close relationship with life, to make it expressive of the actual forces of the present, and to divest it of that cold and artificial formalism which inheres in the classical tradition. Starting with a group of young writers in Peking, the school of the modern conversational style has already made great headway in China, not only in the newspapers but in imaginative literature, in an effort to bring artistic expression close to life. This is part of the Renaissance movement. As Dr. Hu Su and other leaders of the movement have emphasized, there has always been a vernacular literature in China, running along side by side with the formal classical diction that enjoys official sanction. Some of the greatest works of the Chinese imagination, such as the "Dream of the Red Chamber," were written in the conversational style. The Renaissance movement is building upon and developing these literary traditions with the purpose of providing China with a complete and effective instrument for the expression of all the phases of her modern life and action.

In the field of industry and education the Modernization movement has the greater scope. It is recognized that what the new China needs is a mastery of the sciences rather than the purely abstract literary culture of the past. It is difficult to conceive the extent and vigor of the new educational movement in China. In every local community there is an educational society and sometimes several devoting themselves to different aspects of the work. These are united in the district and provincial societies, and they all have a central national organization. Here, too, the Chinese talent for organization manifests itself. The spirit of educational progress is influenced by leaders such as Dr. Chiang Mon-lin and Chancellor Tsai Yuen-pei of Peking University. They seek to strengthen Chinese intellectual culture by using Western methods without losing the values of Chinese tradition.

In economic life there is the same spirit of spontaneous organization among all people who are conscious of a common interest. Chambers of Commerce are coordinating the various trades and branches of commerce. They, too, have their na-

tional organization. The bankers of the country have united in a national syndicate, which is the most important single development of recent Chinese economic life. It implies a growing consciousness of national unity, a desire to take part in the conduct of the affairs of the country and a readiness to back with financial credit a responsible Government.

SPURRED TO ACTION BY JAPAN

Even while to the outward aspect everything in China has been planless confusion, there has been going on in the last few years this spontaneous organization of national economic and industrial life. This national movement received its first impetus when, during the World War, the former inroads of foreign aggression were overtopped by the action of Japan in Shantung. Yet, though its original object was resistance to foreign aggression, its positive nationalism also immediately manifested itself. It did not waste its energies in futile opposition; for, though it sanctioned and promoted the national boycott through which the resentment of foreign aggression most effectively expressed itself, yet its most significant efforts were directed toward the strengthening of industrial and political independence. As a result, scores of cotton mills sprang up in the industrial centres, whose products took the place of the foreign fabrics. In every field the Chinese had come to realize what lay before them in the development of their great natural resources—the reclamation of fertile lands, the exploitation of mines and the improvement of manufacture. So it was that men everywhere set to planning new enterprises, that land values rose in the centres of trade and population with unprecedented rapidity and that a spirit of progress pervaded the entire industrial life of China.

All the commercial and educational organizations which I have been speaking of are united through a central council, which has its seat in Shanghai. Thus all the industrial, commercial and educational interests of China have been brought into close relationship with each other and united in a common effort in the cause of national development.

During the Washington conference this

central organization of all the popular interests of China was represented in our capital by several delegates. They maintained a close touch with the official delegates and with the public at home, and they formed the main channel of communication with the latter. At one time, when they received a hint that the Peking Government, then in sore need of foreign support, might issue instructions to the delegates at Washington tying their hands in essential matters, they cabled immediately to Shanghai a full report of their apprehensions. On the very next day meetings of representative men were held throughout China and a flood of telegrams poured in on the Peking Government, condemning any readiness to take a weak stand. An organ had been created by the spontaneous action of the people, through which at any time they could definitely express their opinion and will to their Government. A very important advance had been made in the effective organization of Chinese public opinion.

While the struggle between the political factions continued and the Central Government was weak, the representative organizations of the people held aloof, waiting for a group of leaders to emerge who could build up a new relationship of mutual helpfulness between Government and people. When General Wu Pei-fu announced his policy of calling a Constituent Assembly to restore the unity of China and to finish the Constitution, he had in mind the popular organization which had already been created, and which can at any time designate representatives of the popular interests.

The evils of Chinese political life in the past have been due largely to the fact that there was no close relationship between the Chinese people, organized according to their different interests and activities, and their Government. The merchants looked upon the State and politics as necessary evils which had to be borne like a visitation of disease. Accordingly, political action moved within a narrow groove and was not truly and effectively representative of the body of the people.

The evils of Chinese politics as they existed during the first decade of the republic are largely due to what may be

called the heritage of Yuan Shih-kai. Yuan Shih-kai himself was entirely dominated by the older idea of Chinese politics, which consisted largely in playing off men against each other and in making use of the Public Treasury and public forces without much distinction between private ambition and State action. Yuan was in most respects a representative Chinese, and there was fitness in his prominence; but when he died, the Generals who had served under him, and who had supported his power, adopted his methods each within his sphere of action and influence. So China became infested for a while with a pseudo-feudalism. The military Generals governed the provinces. They entirely subordinated the civilian elements and treated the local levies as their personal army. The resources of the local Treasury were used in carrying out their personal ambitions.

PROVINCES LEAD IN REFORM

The Chinese people have been struggling to relieve themselves of this incubus. Even before the movement of last Spring the worst of the militaristic Governors had been eliminated—for instance, in the Provinces of Hupeh, Anhui and Shensi. The efforts of public opinion were concentrated upon reforming the Governments of the provinces. The Provincial Governments have been far more important than the Central Government, as they stand closer to the people, affecting their life more directly; and they are in turn more easily influenced by them. The chief aim of the popular movement of the last few years has, therefore, been to build reform from the bottom up and to assure more adequate political organization and action first of all in the provinces. After a few provinces had been cleaned up, they might then unite in national reform.

Kwangtung Province was particularly active in pursuing this aim, with the result that public affairs in Canton improved visibly. Vices of old standing were suppressed, and the provincial administration exerted itself to improve the conditions of the people. Governor Chen Chiung-ming has become a leading figure in China because of his successful leadership in the provincial reforms of Kwangtung. He did not allow political

ambitions, such as the desire of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to lead a military expedition against the northern provinces, to deflect him from his policy of first building up his own province. Throughout China, the action of the Cantonese was watched with interest and hope; this was to be the model province to which Chinese from other provinces might repair to learn how government should be carried on. Other provinces—Shansi, Hunan, Chekiang—each in its way followed a similar aim.

Chinese society has long vegetated. That has given it the appearance of weakness and decay. But it has also kept close to nature. So, when the force of the new life asserts itself it freely takes its own course in any part of China where groups of men combine to improve their condition. There are a great many nuclei and centres of modern development in China. The importance of such institutions and experiments far transcends the immediate sphere within which they work. If they are successful, if they find new roads to useful and beneficent action, there are many eager people in other parts of China watching and ready to profit by such experience.

General Wu Pei-fu owes his fame and standing in China very largely to the fact that of all prominent men he has shown himself most in sympathy with the aims of the great popular movement. It is his desire that the Government of China shall become truly representative and be based upon the active support of the organized popular interests of the nation. He has applied the rule of strict financial accountability in his own military administration, and desires to see it applied in the nation, knowing that only in this way can the national credit rest upon the active support of public confidence. He wishes to eliminate the interference of militarism in the government of the nation and the provinces. A representative Government is to be in full control, and from it the military Generals are to receive their orders and directions.

The developments of this Summer have brought to the Chinese people new hope that their nation may work out its way to an effective organization of all its activities and forces. Undoubtedly a great step in advance has been taken through

the elimination of many of the older militarists and the added prominence of leaders who have identified themselves with the welfare of the people. There are still many difficulties in the way. It is possible that Peking might again exhaust itself in fruitless controversies among parliamentary factions and between Parliament and the Administration. It is possible that the leaders who follow the same public aims may nevertheless be separated by private considerations and ambitions. Loyalties in China have been based so entirely on direct personal relationships that there has been no scope for general political notions. There is also the danger that foreign intrigue may again take advantage of the unfinished state of Chinese political organization, and, through encouraging dissensions, attempt to maintain China in a position of weakness and tutelage.

But every one in China feels that a great opportunity now exists for realizing some of the national hopes and ambitions

which have grown strong among the Chinese people during the last decade. The leaders have learned a great deal from experience; and, vast and complicated as their problems are, they are showing a greater mastery of them and less of a readiness to rely on loosely applied foreign analogies for the solution of their difficulties. There is far less talk of the adoption of Western systems than of the development of the inner forces and spontaneous action of the Chinese people themselves, organized in groups and interests according to their natural affiliations and activities. Never before has a society so vast and ancient undertaken so searching a task of self-examination and reconstruction.

The greatest difficulties come from the fact that some of the highest virtues of China's old social system have become impediments and weaknesses in the new life. To strengthen the national life without losing the old morale, that is the problem of the Chinese people.

THE CASE AGAINST KING CONSTANTINE

By PAUL DEMOS.

To the Editor of Current History:

IT will be noted that Miss Rose Standish Nichols, in her appeal in the July CURRENT HISTORY on behalf of Greek royalty, nowhere displays any signs of knowledge of Greek affairs previous to her visit to the King and Queen of Greece. I am not, therefore, shocked at her ardent appeal for the recognition of Constantine by the United States Government. What I would call attention to is her condemnation of Mr. Venizelos as a dictator, as the one responsible for atrocities at Smyrna, and one disliked by the majority of the Greek people and the Greek Army.

A New York Times correspondent wrote from Athens that the "Greeks voted against Venizelos because they blamed him for going into Asia Minor at the request of the Allies, and expected that when King Constantine returned to power peace would ensue and the soldiers return home to their families and peaceful pursuits." Later this correspondent wrote that after investigating the present feeling in Greece he believed it was overwhelmingly against Con-

stantine and in favor of Venizelos, and that the army and navy were almost entirely in favor of Venizelos.

A number of the most illustrious Greek Deputies have been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for having expressed their opinions in favor of a republican form of Government; and Miss Nichols desires that Mr. Hughes give recognition to a King who condemns to prison the representatives of the people who are fighting for a most elementary right—that of freedom of speech!

I have read in one of the leading royalist dailies of Athens an urgent appeal to the Government to organize the "Phalaghites," a Greek equivalent of the Italian Fascisti, in order to suppress the rising tide of popular feeling against the present régime. I have also read that the Council of Ministers is thinking of proclaiming martial law. Why? Because a revolution is impending, aiming at the overthrow of Constantine, who has brought ruin and bankruptcy upon Greece.

127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, July 17, 1922.

TURKEY REINTERPRETED

Rear Admiral Chester, who has been interested in Turkish affairs for over twenty years, returned in July from Constantinople, where he went to ascertain whether conditions would be suitable in the near future for renewing work on the Chester Project (described in *CURRENT HISTORY*, March, 1922). Rear Admiral Chester is one of America's most experienced naval veterans. He was graduated from Annapolis in 1863, and served in the Civil War. He was one of Theodore Roosevelt's closest friends, and for years has been an observer of world affairs.—EDITOR.

By REAR ADMIRAL COLBY M. CHESTER
United States Navy, Retired

The Turks depicted by an American observer as a moral, religious, tolerant, scrupulously honest race—The Armenian massacres discounted, and the deportations represented as an act of beneficence

Europe) against the Turk. The main questions to be asked about a religion are: Are its avowed followers faithful to it? Does it restrain those who are faithful to it from doing evil to their fellow-men? I am no theologian, but this I can say about the Turk: He is loyal to his faith to a degree generally unknown among devotees of other religions. His standards of honesty are higher than those of men in many other portions of the world.

The Turk is an absolutely faithful husband. This is an interesting point. In the so-called advanced countries we frequently learn of cases where men who are allowed one wife each by law and by religion have in fact several upon the side. If the divorce news in the daily press is to be relied upon a large proportion of the men in the United States and England who can afford it have additional companions. In Turkey the reverse is true; all men by religion and by law are allowed four wives, almost none in fact have more than one. One situation is the immorality of morality; the other is the morality of immorality. Men of good position in Turkey would hide their heads in shame and retire from fellowship with their kind if in their hearts they knew such things were true of them as continually are printed with regard to domestic scandals in the American and British press, in the French press and Italian press, about men of standing and position in those "enlightened" countries.

Today in Turkey any man who actually

WHAT is the truth about Turkey? This question is asked daily. I went to Turkey to ascertain the actual conditions there, and I have been bombarded with such questions since my return. Following are some of my answers:

There are no prejudices against Christians in Turkey, let alone killings of Christians. Massacres of the past were enormously exaggerated by prejudiced writers and speakers.

The harem has vanished out of Turkey, and there are fewer men with plural wives than there are married men with mistresses in the United States.

There is more honesty to the square inch in Turkey than there is to the square yard in most other countries of the world.

Turkey joined the Germans with reluctance. After the United States became belligerent she would have joined the Allies if she could.

In the first place, the wrong impression of the Turks was spread because their religious belief is different from ours. That and that alone lay at the bottom of the prejudice of America (and much of

has more than one wife is scorned. To the Turk family life and the family relationship are very sacred. It is noteworthy that Turks invariably spend their evening hours at home. There is not a hint of what in Europe and America is called "night life" among Turkish men, young or old, of the better classes.

There is much night life and much vice in Constantinople. Constantinople is in the hands of the Allies. The vice is that of Northern Europe transplanted, and its patrons are the sailors and the soldiers, the travelers and business men who have gone to Turkey to maintain control or to do business. I am glad to have the opportunity of saying this: In Turkey every man, by law and by religion, must adequately support and treat with kindness and faithful respect whomsoever he may marry, and, moreover, this he does.

COLLECTING THE INDEMNITY

My observations of Turkey and the Turks have been made with every opportunity to achieve accuracy and with a background of experience. In 1896 John Hay, then our distinguished American Secretary of State, cabled Lloyd Griscom, *Chargé d'Affaires* in Constantinople, that the Turks must pay £20,000, then about \$100,000, indemnity for alleged attacks on missionaries and American church property. Griscom wanted a battleship to come, believing that if one appeared he might collect. I was then in command of the first American battleship ever sent into those waters. When the great American battleship appeared at the Golden Horn, a Kemal Pasha (not the present head of the Government of Angora, although the names are identical), was in charge, and he was very much upset. It had not been generally understood that such vast monsters grew in the United States. Its teeth looked bad to him. Kemal Pasha wired to the Sublime Porte that an American battleship, the biggest in the world, with bare teeth, was calling.

Thereupon the Russians (who had ships there and were covetous of Turkey's riches) offered to go in and "stop" the Americans. The Germans, intensely jealous of the Russians, thus advised the Sublime Porte: "Keep the Russians out at all costs.

Pay the Americans the nasty little indemnity they want, and get rid of them."

"How much do I owe you?" asked the Sublime Porte of Mr. Griscom.

"Twenty thousand pounds, or about a hundred thousand dollars," Griscom answered.

"Oh, not as much as that!"

"Yes; just that."

Finally we settled for £19,000, and since then I have been interested in and a constant student of the Turks. The more I have known of them the better I have liked them.

THE REAL TURK

Incidentally, as showing the real character of the Turk, it should be said of the so-called Christian massacres, which have been so exploited in this country, that no atrocities worthy of note were committed in Constantinople in 1896. In the western provinces of the empire, largely controlled by Albanian troops, noted for their bloodthirsty instincts, of which the ruling dynasty took full advantage in carrying out its diabolical policy, there were atrocious acts committed. Also in the east, the then wild nomadic tribes of the mountains, known as Kurds, did not show special kindness toward their inveterate foes, the Armenians, when ordered by Abdul Hamid to attack them. The Armenians were hated alike by Kurds, Christian Georgians and Moslem Azerbaijanians, because of their grasping propensities—their tendency to live by the sweat of their neighbors' brows. The charge that they were maltreated was well founded. But the "Constantinople Guard," made up mostly of true Osmanli, refused to carry out the Sultan's atrocious edicts, and their General openly defied his Majesty to unleash his sleuth hounds in the capital of the nation. One of the most pitiful sights ever witnessed was, I think, that of this noble soldier, white haired and emaciated, when he was released from captivity by the Young Turks in 1908 and brought back to Constantinople, which he had successfully defended twelve years before against the barbarous intentions of his chief. Entering the beautiful Bosphorus in a special ship assigned for his accommodation, this gallant soldier was received



HALIDEH EDIB HANUM

Turkey's most noted woman author and poet, whose writings have done much to make polygamy a matter of scorn in the Moslem world.

by hundreds of thousands of Musulmans, many of them in tears.

To be sure, the 1896 program for the extermination of the Armenians was not the last *attempt* of Abdul Hamid, who, by the way, according to the Duke of Argyle and other British subjects, was too long maintained in power by Great Britain to carry out his nefarious policies; for when he was on his political deathbed the Sultan resorted to another campaign of murder in order to show the European powers that only by releasing him and restoring him to power could the natural tendency of his subjects for brutality be overcome. In spite of the watchful guard that surrounded him, he managed to instigate *riots* in the eastern provinces, and the so-called

Adana massacre of 1909 was one of the results. That affair, however, was in no sense a *massacre* as the term is known to international law, for the Armenians (always in the majority in cities of Asia Minor, according to present-day accounts), fully armed, arose in their might and drove the Moslems from Adana, killing more of them than they lost by their own casualties. This fact was certified to before the Director of the Board of Foreign Missions in Boston, in my presence, by a woman missionary whose son had been accidentally killed in the fight. In spite of this admission, however, the Hymn of Hate, tuned to the key of the Adana massacres, is still being sung to Sunday school children in America.

That was the last fitful act of an unconstitutional monarch in Turkey in the way of maltreating the Armenians. Abdul Hamid was immediately deposed for this intended cruelty by edict of the Shiek-ul-Islam, supported by an overwhelming majority of the Turks. Wondrous to relate, however, on the very day that he was shorn of his power for evil, there were received in Constantinople copies of *The London Times* containing a protest, signed by the British Ambassador at the Porte, against the Sultan's deposition.

Since 1909 Turkey has been practically at war, due to machinations of the powers that be in Europe, and heinous offenses committed against any body in Turkey have been "war atrocities," such as are common to all belligerents.

THE CHESTER CONCESSIONS

Since that episode I have visited Turkey a number of times. In the course of these visits, including the journey just completed, I studied the land from end to end. My recent stay at Constantinople was in connection with the enterprise now internationally known as the "Chester Project." This includes the construction of 1,200 miles of railroad in Turkey, to extend from Alexandretta Bay to the Persian border, and the development and operation of oil fields estimated to be capable of producing more than a billion barrels of crude petroleum. The Chester claims are the oldest in the Mesopotamian field, by a number of years antedating those of the British and the

Germans, which have been so generally acclaimed as marvelously rich. These claims accrued to the Chesters as a result of our pioneer activities in seeking to induce American industries to extend their activities to the rich Turkish field. As a result of my belief in Turkey growing from a knowledge built up during many years' experience, the group with which I am associated was offered large concessions.

In 1911 the Turkish National Assembly voted for the construction of the railway I have mentioned, the concession including mineral and oil privileges extending twenty kilometers on both sides of the right of way. These include the great oil fields both of Mesopotamia and of Mosul. This road we shall build when conditions warrant. They have not warranted as yet, and the oil fields occupy our principal attention.

The outbreak of the Italian-Turkish war at first prevented the beginning of our railroad-building operations. After this war ended, a succession of other conflicts, including the World War, made it necessary to postpone repeatedly the starting of our work. Finally, through my son, Commander Arthur Chester, who has been for some years in Constantinople as the representative of the United States Shipping Board, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, chief of the Government of Anatolia, which is nominally independent of Turkey proper and has its capital at Angora, renewed to me

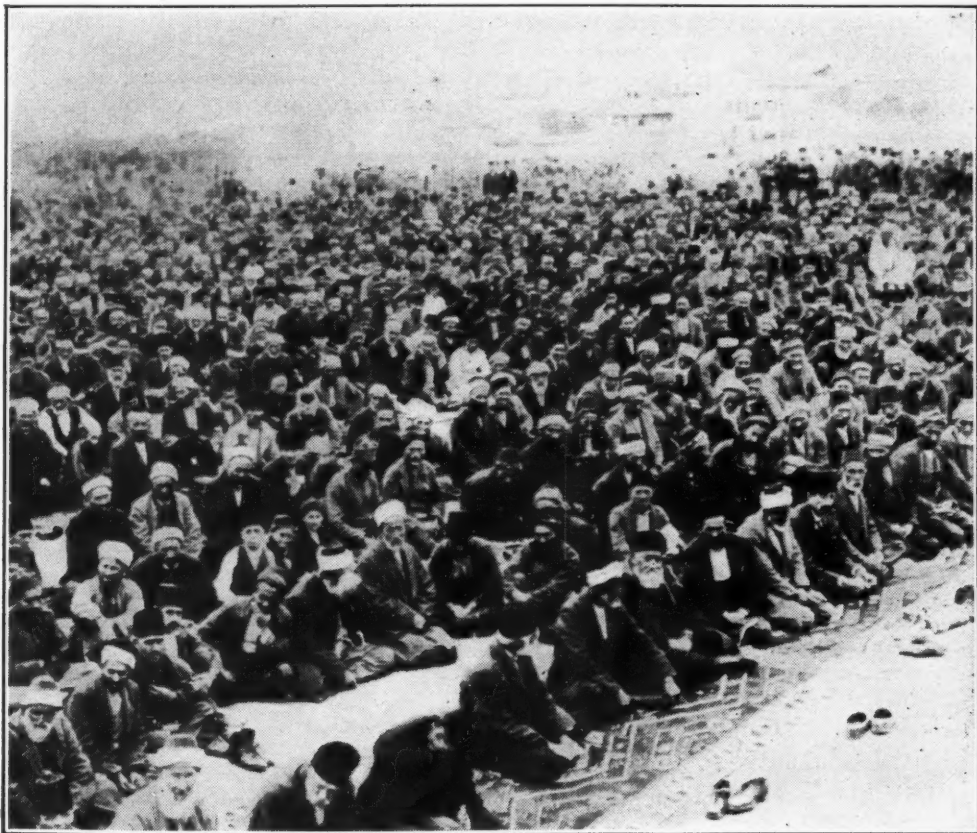
his invitation to start the great constructive enterprise.

I took my family with me when I went over to review the situation, for we who know the facts have no worries about the safety of the traveler in Turkey. There are many sections of the world much closer to New York where a tourist runs a greater risk. The children of my son go to school at the American College in Constantinople, where, although allied control is responsible for some disorder, owing to the large changing population of foreign seamen and adventurers (not to forget adventuresses), life among the Turks is calm and practically free from law-breaking. Even with the sometimes drunken sailors of the allied ships, often on shore and carousing in the dives promoted mostly by shrewd Russian refugees, there is no more disorder than in New York.

Returning, I feel that I have come from the most wonderful country in the world, the country which offers the greatest opportunities to the American business man. The Turks need almost everything which America can wish to sell to them, and they are the best of people to deal with. The Turkish business man never violates his word. If he is buying from you and

General view of the Turkish quarter of Smyrna, the city for control of which the Greeks and Turks are still facing each other with hostile armies.





This photograph of the meeting for prayer at Angora after the battle of Sakaria gives an idea of the forces back of the Turkish Nationalist movement. Boys and old men, retired Generals and naval Captains too old to serve at the front, have here removed their shoes to pray for success against the Greeks.

declares that he will pay upon a certain date, you will get your money on that day; if he is selling to you and declares his goods to be of a certain quality, then they are of that quality.

The Turk, contrary to the general impression, is a tolerant man, not only willing but extremely anxious that others should do as they please in religion, as in other things. Naturally, however, he does not wish to have his own habits of religion or of daily life interfered with by outsiders. My religion differs from the Turk's, but I respect his great fidelity to his, and, no matter what may be declared

to the contrary, he respects my own fidelity to mine and that of others to the faith they may espouse.

THE TURK MALIGNED

The Turk has been and is the most misrepresented person in the world. I know some of the falsehoods which have been and are being circulated in America. They amaze me.

I was in Constantinople in 1911 when the first election was held. The Turks made a festival of it, and wagons, in every one of which were a certain number of pretty little girls in white, were driven around to take the ballots. On these wagons rode also the Christian missionaries who were there. In the meantime the people of America and European countries were being fed with tales of anti-Christian riots in Constantinople. These were sup-

posed to be even then in progress. Learning of this, I was disgusted with the anti-Turkish propagandists.

I know that what I say will be astonishing to most Americans. I myself should be astonished by such reports if I knew nothing about Turkey except such things as I have read in newspapers published in America and Europe, and inspired—although the newspapers have not understood this—by the enemies of Turkey. One reason why these misrepresentations persist is that Turkey never has felt it worth while to organize any agency to state her case abroad.

There have been riots, now and then, when local Turks have felt that their rights have been outraged by outsiders. It seems to me that once or twice I have read something about riots in America in circumstances of like sort, although of differing detail. Speaking generally, the Turks are far more patient than Americans would be.

Armenian massacres by the Turks have been almost entirely unknown since constitutional government was proclaimed in 1908; or, at least, since the head of the Young Turk Party caused twenty Ottoman officers to be put to death for permitting acts of cruelty against the Armenians in 1915.

The worst "outrage" ever perpetrated

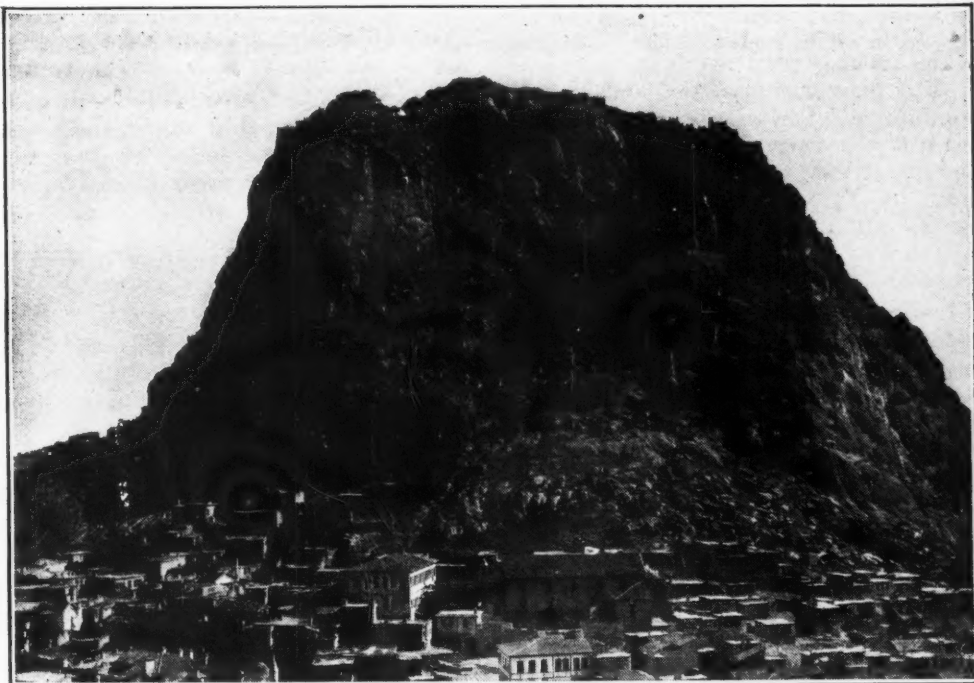
by the Turks on the Armenians occurred in 1915. The wholesale deportations of that period were brought about by Turkish fear that the procedure of this alien population, if left to continue without interruption, would get the agitators into real trouble; the Turks wished no such episode, though, naturally, they disliked Armenian interference with Turkey's operation of her own affairs, political, religious and domestic. So the Armenians were moved from the inhospitable regions where they were not welcome and could not actually prosper, to the most delightful and fertile part of Syria.

Those from the mountains were taken into Mesopotamia, where the climate is as benign as in Florida and California, whither New York millionaires journey every year for health and recreation. All this was done at great expense of money and effort, and the general outside report was that all, or at least many, had been murdered.

It seems almost a pity to upset the good old myth of Turkish viciousness and ter-

Partial view of Angora, the modest town which has displaced Constantinople as the capital of Turkey, being the seat of the Nationalist Government, of which Mustapha Kemal Pasha is one of the leaders





Afiun-Karahissar, one of the strongholds in Asia Minor, which has seen some of the most desperate fighting in the present war between the Greeks and Turks.

ribleness, but in the interest of accuracy I find myself constrained to do so, although it makes me feel a bit like one who is compelled to tell a child that Jack the Giant Killer really found no monstrous men to slay.

In due course of time the deportees, entirely unmassacred and fat and prosperous, returned (if they wished so to do), and an English prisoner of war who was in one of the vacated towns after it had been repopulated told me that he found it filled with these astonishing living ghosts.

Another thing which I would wish to say is that the Turks have been a great restraining influence upon the spread of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviki tried to win Kemal Pasha, and for a time declared that they had done so, but eventually he was read out of the Third International because he had declared in favor of the old forms of government. He has done everything he could to keep the Bolsheviki and all their works out of Anatolia.

The relations between Kemal in Anatolia and the Sublime Porte in Turkey, although the two are administratively separated, are friendly and co-operative. The two groups of Turks are playing a strategic game, and doing it with skill. They let the Greeks dash their heads against stone walls.

Today, although there are many ways in which falsehood can be circulated about Turkey, there is no way that I know of, save through the "word of mouth" of a few men who, like myself, have gone to Turkey and therefore know the facts, of getting the truth out of Turkey. The Turks ever have been curiously indifferent with regard to what the outside world has thought of them, or else have been unable to discover how to tell their story. Turkey's enemies are unwilling that the actual truth should become generally known. They don't want any outsider to go into Anatolia, and few get there. I didn't get up there, but I hope to on some future trip. My son has been there.

It is an interesting experiment which Kemal Pasha is working out there. He is a Turkish George Washington, and it is no irreverence to the Father of Our Coun-

try to make this comparison. Kemal Pasha is a great man.

The situation as it stands in Turkey, especially in regard to Kemal and his relationships with Turkey proper, is merely the result of the determination on the part of Turks that they want no more of government by European political and commercial intrigue.

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

I wish I could express the eagerness with which Turkey and Kemal are both looking toward America, hoping that some friendly move of business men (for their own profit) may be made from here. All that is asked is a square deal, business done in such a way that the Turk in its transaction need not risk his birthright. I have heard it said a hundred times in Turkey, and by men who count:

"The Americans are the only powerful people in the world who are not seeking a political advantage to the detriment of Turkey. We have had many bitter years of exploitation by the Europeans. We want Americans to come here. We want to do business with them."

The Turk has but one real qualification as a business man—his invariable honesty. In general, a Turk would rather starve in one of the Government services than make money in business. It is this which explains why the Turks not only have allowed but have invited outside business men of the more industrious races to come and run their commercial enterprises and their banks. Thus the large Greek and Armenian populations in Turkey are accounted for. They control nearly every branch of Turkish public works and nearly every industrial establishment.

The Turks have some strange notions—strange to us, I mean. Before the war they would not accept interest from European banks in which they kept accounts. "No," they declared; "you take our money on deposit and preserve it safely for us, returning it to us upon our order. It is a great service to us. We ought to pay you for this service. We cannot accept the interest you offer!" This is but one sample of the Turk's entirely non-commercial attitude of mind. Although I have been much in Turkey I never have met a crooked Turk. But I

have met many Turkish subjects of various alien bloods who would take anything not looked upon or nailed down, irrespective of its rightful ownership.

Out of Turkey, if it would, the United States could make a splendid customer. I have said that she needs everything. I



REOUF BEY

New Prime Minister of the Cabinet elected by the National Assembly at Angora, of which he was formerly Vice President. He succeeds Feizi Pasha

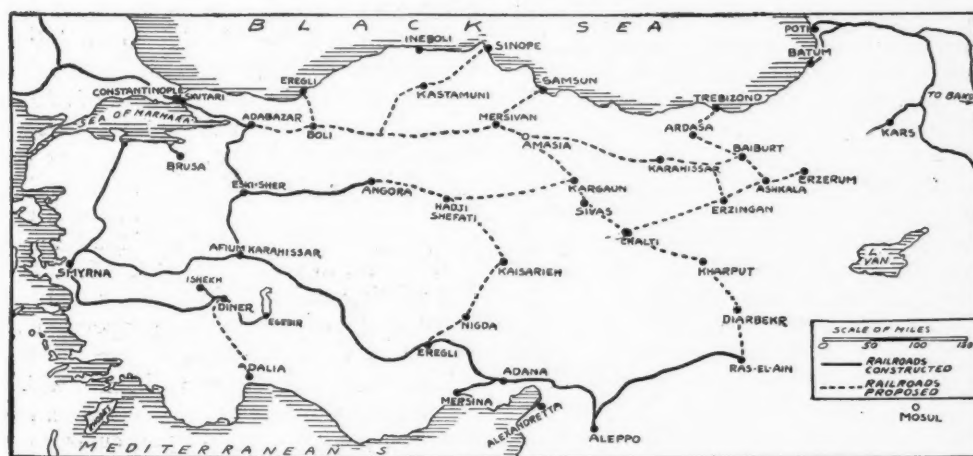
am a sailor and could not compile a list of things which she would wish to buy from us, but almost any comprehensive list of articles fitted to such a climate as she has would do. I know that she needs farm implements and American canned goods. But, more than these, she needs railways, telegraphs and telephones and electric installations generally. For these, if we supply them, we shall need to furnish not only the material but the skill in building. If Americans ever go there they will have no need to worry with regard to the rigid honesty of their Turkish customers.

The Turks are not only honest, but they are pathetically independent. I know one man—Hallil Bey—who wished to get his daughter into the American school, but, although he was of prominence in the Government, he had no money. This appealed to me, and I went to the school and got a scholarship for the young girl. So far, so good. But when I came to think out just how I could offer it to Hallil Bey

without an injury to his pride or without incurring suspicion of my motives, I found myself quite helpless. I was arranging for concessions. It was impossible to offer him the scholarship without some one saying that it was a bribe. I never found the way. The scholarship never has been offered, and the girl has grown up without the coveted education. In such things the Turk is infinitely punctilious.

NEW TURKISH RAILWAY PROJECTS

BY A CORRESPONDENT



COPY OF THE FIRST OFFICIAL RAILWAY MAP ISSUED BY THE ANGORA GOVERNMENT, SHOWING ITS PLANS FOR DEVELOPING THE RAIL SYSTEM OF ASIA MINOR

THE map which accompanies this article is the first that has been issued by the Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora, setting forth its plans of railroad construction in the remnant of the Ottoman Empire. In the confused political situation which prevails at present throughout the Near East, these railroad plans are subordinated to the execution of the National Pact, which embodies the Nationalist program for the recovery of Smyrna, Constantinople and Thrace and for the recognition in the West of the abrogation of the Capitulations. In this respect Angora's railroad plans share the position of all its other internal policies. They are all subordinated to the National Pact.

These railroad plans, however, have thus far been taken seriously by at least one

American firm, whose representative has visited Angora for the purpose of securing an option on one of the lines depicted on the map. His visit elicited a statement from the Angora authorities respecting the conditions on which it proposed to grant concessions. This statement will doubtless serve as the basis of further negotiations, but it seems already clear that the Angora Government will insist on the participation of Turkish capital up to 51 per cent. in any companies formed for the development of its concessions. One of the principal clauses of the National Pact stipulates the preservation of the Government's complete internal sovereignty, and the experience of the old Ottoman Government with foreign concessions has apparently not been lost on the new Nationalist Government.

The Angora authorities have repeatedly stated their eagerness for the participation of American capital in the development of Asia Minor, believing that no European country is financially able to meet their needs, and holding also to the hope that American financial interests in Turkey's well-being would prove to be of political help. Thus far, however, there is some uncertainty among American business men at Constantinople as to how far the secret clauses of the Franco-Turkish Treaty of Oct. 20, 1921, tie the hands of the Angora Government respecting concessions to foreign capitalists. Asia Minor is one of the richest undeveloped areas now remaining on the face of the earth, a fact which, American circles in Constantinople believe, could hardly have been lost sight of in the negotiation of the Franco-Turkish Treaty.

A further factor in American approaches to Angora is necessarily a disposition to wait upon events. The stability of the Angora Government is generally accepted at Constantinople, but, although a good deal of ground can be broken in advance, the actual sowing of American dollars in Asia Minor is apt to wait until the sun breaks through the clouds. The feeling at Constantinople is, in brief, that there can be no doubt of the harvest as soon as it is known that a period of sunshine is ahead.

In some degree American interest at Constantinople in the economic plans of the Angora Government is reminiscent of the Chester project. This American scheme for the development of the old Ottoman Empire was rejected by the Ottoman Parliament before the war, a rejection which is ascribed by the Angora authorities, and probably truly, to foreign influences. Angora's leaders say that a new Chester project, adapted to the changed political conditions of today, would be accepted with only one proviso, namely, that it be conducted as a strictly commercial undertaking and not as a new manoeuvre on the part of American Armenianism. Certainly, in the present appalling condition of Asia Minor, there is ample scope for the widest range of commercial development, and it is not impossible that further American conversations with Angora will widen the

scope of American interests in Asia Minor—as soon as peace comes to the Near East.

The lines which the Turkish Nationalist authorities project in the accompanying map will be seen to fall into two classes—east-and-west lines and north-and-south lines. Both make ample use of the Bagdad Railway, the only existing long-distance railway in the country. At present this railway is being operated by the Anatolian Railway Company, formerly a German concern financed by the Deutsche Bank, from the Raidar Pasha Station, opposite Constantinople, only as far into the interior as Adabazar. The Greeks are in occupation of it from Eski-Shehr to Afiun-Karahissar, and the Turkish Nationalist military authorities are operating it from a point east of Afiun to Yenidje, twenty-five miles from Adana. Throughout the rest of its length to Ras-el-Ain, including the Adana-Mersina branch, the French are operating it under the terms of the Franco-Turkish arrangement of Oct. 20, 1921. The existing railroads in the hinterland of Smyrna are of course being operated at present by the Greek Army.

The east-and-west group of lines, which the Angora Government is projecting, are esteemed the more urgent, particularly the extension of the Eski-Shehr-Angora line to Erzerum, where eventually it is to link up with the Russian transcaucasian system. This Eski-Shehr-Angora line was originally to have been the main line of the Bagdad Railway and to have run through Sivas, Harput and Diarbekr to Mosul, whence it was to have dropped down to Bagdad. Russian objections, however, caused this route, which had already been made the subject of an Ottoman concession, to be abandoned for the southerly route via Adana, and the Eski-Shehr-Angora line became a feeder to the main Bagdad line. The Angora authorities now propose to continue it to Erzerum, Russian objections having been eliminated with the old Russian Government which held them.

The total distance of this line, which would traverse a good deal of rather difficult country, would be 615 miles. Between Angora and Yahshi-Han, a distance of 54 miles, a Decauville line is already

operating. For the first 85 miles of the line the grading is done and standard-gauge bridges are in, and for 46 miles further the grading only is completed. The line would cross the Kizil-Irmak and the Euphrates and would reach an altitude of 6,800 feet above the sea at Erzerum. From its projected terminus there a line is already in existence connecting Erzerum with the Russian lines of Transcaucasia. It was built during the Russian advance in 1915-16, but today probably consists of no more than twin streaks of rust, and a good deal of work would have to be done on it before the Anatolian and transcaucasian systems could be considered as linked up. The Anatolian standard gauge is the same as that of the United States—4 feet 8½ inches—while the Russian transcaucasian lines are built to a five-foot gauge.

The other projected east-and-west line, that from Adabazar via Mersivan and Baidurt to Erzerum, is not regarded by the Angora authorities as of immediate urgency. After the Angora-Erzerum line the Nationalists regard the Samsun-Sivas-Ras-el-Ain line as the most urgent. This would consist of a northern branch from Samsun to Karghyn on the Angora-Erzerum line, and a southern branch from Chalti, via Harput and Diarbekr, to the Bagdad Rail-

way at Ras-el-Ain. The first twenty miles of the Samsun-Karghyn branch are already leveled, having been completed before Russia's veto on the northerly concession for the Bagdad Railway put an end to railroad construction in the north of Asia Minor. This branch contemplates some of the most difficult railroading in the country, rising from the sea level of Samsun to a height of 4,000 feet before it descends to connect at Karghyn with the Angora-Erzerum line. Samsun is, of course, the great tobacco town where there are already important American interests, and a harbor project is expected to go with the concession for this line.

Another branch of the Angora-Erzerum line on which the Angora authorities lay stress is that from Hadji Shefati via Kaisariye to Eregli on the Bagdad line. This is to be thought of in connection with the projected line from the Bagdad line to Alexandretta, whose future is at present a subject of discussion between the Angora authorities and the French at Beirut.

These lines are the nucleus of Angora's railroad program—a main Angora-Erzerum line, dropping branch lines to Alexandretta via Eregli and to Ras-el-Ain via Diarbekr, and lifting a branch via Mersivan to Samsun on the Black Sea.

THE COCAINE TRAFFIC IN INDIA

IN spite of the greatest vigilance at Bombay and other Indian ports, writes a Bombay correspondent to *The London Times*, a large quantity of cocaine is smuggled into the country every year. Before the war foreign sailors were used as the intermediaries for carrying the drug, which emanated from a well-known German firm. During the war the Japanese seized this traffic, and much Japanese cocaine was smuggled in through Japanese and Chinese sailors. Now the German drug, which is preferred because of its strength, has reappeared.

From the ports it finds its way to Delhi and other large Indian centres, and the provincial excise reports testify to the increase of the cocaine habit throughout the country. The trade is extremely lucrative. During the war the drug sold as

high as 450 rupees (\$150) an ounce. Little wonder that the traffic thrives, and that the criminal vendors have found it profitable to pay a detective service of their own to watch the police and excise officers, and to give the warning of any projected raid. The penalties, especially in Bombay, are extremely severe—imprisonment for one year or a fine up to 2,000 rupees (\$1,165). The Bombay correspondent intimates that the Indian Government has not received the help from Great Britain and other countries to which it is entitled, and declares that until an international agreement is entered into, the struggle against the pernicious abuse of this drug will be in vain in India. The League of Nations has long had the matter under consideration, but thus far nothing definite has been accomplished.

WHAT TURKISH DEPORTATIONS MEAN

Memorandum of Dr. Mark H. Ward, Director of the Near East Relief American Hospital at Harput, on deportations of Greeks—Thousands deliberately sent forth to die

THIS terse statement of facts, when recently made public in London, became the chief basis of the British Government's act in inviting France, Italy and the United States to participate in an investigation of the atrocities described, which were generally confirmed by the British High Commissioner at Constantinople in telegrams read by Mr. Chamberlain before the British Parliament on May 16, 1922. Dr. Ward recently arrived in the United States and at once laid before the Department of State the evidence here presented. The Department of State announced on July 27 that "in view of the state of war existing between the allied powers and Turkey," the British and French Governments had agreed that it would be desirable to have the investigation conducted through commissions to be appointed by the International Red Cross, a neutral agency, and that the United States had agreed to this and had sent instructions to American officials in Constantinople and Athens to co-operate to this end.

Dr. Ward's memorandum covers the period from May, 1921, to January, 1922. It reads as follows:

Beginning with May 26, 1921, and up to January, 1922, there were a total of 20,378 deportees that reached Harput. About 18,000 were Greek Ottomans and the remaining 2,000 were Armenians. They were from the following places, named in the order in which the deportees reached Harput:

Konia, Cesarea, Amasia, Bilijek, Eski-shehr and villages near Brussa, Eregli, Afiun-Karahissar, Alishar, Kutahia, Sivri-Hissar, Akshehir Kerman, Haymans, Ordu, Kerasun, Samsun, Khanza, Topejuk, Marsivan, Koppy, Vozir-Kupru, Sparta, Burdur, Endemish.

According to the reports we received there must have been 30,000 sent down the Harput road from Sivas during this time. Some 5,000 of them were able to escape from the convoys while they were passing through the various villages and towns along the road. In Malatia alone there

were 4,000 refugees during the Fall and Winter months. From these the Near East Relief was taking care of over 600 children in an orphanage and feeding 400 refugees at a soup kitchen. There were another 1,000 whom the Americans could not reach or care for.

The remaining 2,000 who remained at Malatia all died either from starvation or typhus during the Winter.

As the deportees were driven down the road many dropped by the roadside from exhaustion, and during the Winter nights these froze to death, as they had no covering. One American saw 1,500 dead bodies along the side of the road as he journeyed from Sivas to Harput during the month of December last. Another, going from Malatia to Harput earlier in the same month, saw 150 bodies of women and children. Some of these bodies were on the roadway itself, just where they had stumbled and fallen. Others appeared to have had just enough strength to crawl to the side of the road so they would not be crushed by passing wagons.

In all, fully 5,000 of the 30,000 who started from Sivas died on the road, so that, together with the 5,000 who escaped from the convoys, only 20,000 reached Harput.

The Near East Relief was able after a hard struggle to give bread to most of the thirty-eight convoys of refugees as they passed on the road. Some 5,000 of them remained in Harput and nearby villages, and 3,000 of these received the Near East Relief ration of bread regularly. During the cold Winter months, however, many died from starvation and exposure. Typhus broke out and spread like wildfire in spite of quarantine. In Harput during seven months over 1,300 refugees were received in our American hospital, and out of these, even with the best of care, 341 died, a death rate of 25 per cent. In the largest isolation camp 600 died. In the entire Vilayet fully 2,000 died. Nothing was done for them except by the Americans.

Some 15,000 refugees were sent over the high mountains south to Diarbekir, but the Americans there reported that only 12,000 arrived. The remaining 3,000 perished in the snow on the mountains. Food was given to them as they passed through Diarbekir. Two thousand remained there during the Winter, and half of them died from starvation, disease or exposure.

Thus, out of the 30,000 who left Sivas, only 10,000 passed over the bridge of the Tigris River at Diarbekir into the Vilayet of Bitlis.

Beyond this point we know nothing, no word has ever come back. From the nature of the country and the barrenness of the mountains we know that very few can possibly have survived the Winter.

Of the 30,000 refugees there remain, so far as we know, about 6,000—2,000 in Malatia, 3,000 in Harput and 1,000 in Diarbekir.

The earlier convoys of refugees consisted of men, many of them in the prime of life. These were mostly put to work on the roads between Harput and Diarbekir. They received no pay and their entire food allowance consisted of 200 grams of bread and a little thin soup daily. They were allowed no shelter and were compelled to sleep out of doors in bitter cold weather without bedding or covering. When they were too ill to work, their food allowance was cut off and they were left to die without medical care. In some cases, by paying gold, a refugee was able to remain in one of the larger towns and work locally. Some were thus able to get in touch with friends and receive money through the agricultural bank.

But after the earlier deportations, the convoys consisted almost entirely of women and children, with a scattering of old men and boys. In some cases they were permitted to travel with their ox-carts or donkeys, but mostly they were forced to walk, and their baggage consisted of what they could carry on their backs. This was especially hard on women with children. The little children had to walk, for their mothers were obliged to carry the food and bedding for the journey on their backs. Therefore, it was the

children who gave up first and fell behind, and later crawled to the side of the road to die. Many babies were born along the road, but as the mothers had to keep on, they did not survive. Even in the American hospital, out of thirty-three babies born from among the refugees, only thirteen lived, and half of those have no chance of growing up. Ten of the babies were born prematurely and, of course, died.

Some of the sick among the refugees were permitted to take into the American hospital, but only after they had personally been examined by the local health officers and given a permit to be admitted. Sometimes they would have to wait four days for a permit and sometimes they would have to pay a bribe to the official. We were not allowed to give the refugees any work, and it was only after difficult negotiations that we obtained permission to give out clothes to those who came to us with hardly rags enough to cover their nakedness.

This Spring, as soon as the roads were passable over the mountains, new convoys began to pass through Harput. These convoys were mostly made up of the survivors, who had managed to live through the Winter in some of the towns along the road. They were being pushed on, we learned, in order to make room for new convoys who were to be started down from the North and condemned to exile in the mountains of Bitlis. The deportees all knew that they were being sent there to die. The Turkish officials all knew it. There was no possibility that many could find shelter or food among those high mountains. (Signed) MARK H. WARD.

ENVER PASHA AS EMIR OF TURKESTAN

THE continued success of Enver Pasha's movement in Central Asia, in view of the former Turkish leader's strong personality, caused considerable uneasiness among the Russian Bolsheviks and the Turkish Nationalists at Angora. The significant fact was not overlooked that out of Central Asia had come some of the greatest waves of conquest in world history, the district of Samarkand being the birthplace of Timur, whose hosts swept West and East, overwhelming every obstacle. As a centre, therefore, to rouse Mohammedan enthusiasm for some such venture, or to build up a great independent Moslem State, Enver Pasha could hardly have chosen a more favorable region.

In this connection, according to Constantinople advices of July 27 and a Moscow dispatch of July 28, Enver Pasha had originally appeared in Central Asia as an emissary of the Bolsheviks, to raise a Mohammedan army to invade India. But he came to resent the autocratic rule of the Bolshevik Commissars over the Mohammedan population. At a critical moment he turned about and joined the revolting Emir of Bokhara with his well disciplined force. By a brilliant stroke he captured the city of Bokhara, and toward the end of May began a double offensive toward Tashkent, and northeast from Hissar to Khokand. From that time onward he displayed his conspicu-

ous military ability by cutting out and beating all Bolshevik detachments sent against him, and finally administered a crushing defeat to their main body. This placed him in possession of the entire country south of Tashkent, which included the historic cities of Yarkand, Kashgar, Samarkand and Bokhara. It was said that with his force were several Russian ex-Czarist officers, and that he possessed excellent light artillery; but his main strength lay in the fanatical enthusiasm of the Mohammedan population, with whom his name had become a kind of watchword of Islamic triumph.

Following these successes, Enver Pasha permitted himself to be proclaimed Emir of Turkestan, and in turn issued a proclamation in which he invited all Mussulmans to join in fighting the Russians, whose hostility toward Mohammedans "is more dangerous than British imperialism." About the same time he sent agents into Persia, who won to his side Simko, the Kurdish leader, with a promise of full support in an effort to gain the independence of Kurdistan. He also warned the Angora Nationalist Turks and the Russian Bolsheviks to keep out of the Transcaspian region. At latest news the Bolsheviks were endeavoring to arrange peace terms with Enver Pasha on the basis of recognition of his authority over Turkestan.

VITAL LINKS WITH SOUTH AMERICA

By GILBERT P. CHASE

To the Editor of Current History:

I HAVE always been a great believer in friendly intercourse with foreign countries. I would like particularly to see this feeling of cordiality extended to the adjoining Continent of South America, for it appears to me that we have been in the past too ignorant of that country and too neglectful of its people.

The two continents of the Western Hemisphere have the same geological backbone. "America" is a common factor in the name of each. The prevalent impression among us North Americans is that our twin brother of the south is as far removed from the Eastern Hemisphere as we ourselves. Such, however, is not the case. All but a very slender slice of the Continent of South America lies to the eastward of the longitude of New York. Brazil extends out into the Atlantic Ocean almost to the longitude of the Azores Islands. Compared with the vastness of the ocean areas there is really not much more than a strait between the outermost projection of South America and Africa. The narrowest water separating these two great mainlands measures only about 1,600 nautical miles. Over the islands there is no interval between the land greater than 900 miles.

Notice how a great circle on the globe falls over the land of the two hemispheres. On a commercial map of the world lay the edge of a ruler between North Cape in Norway and Cape Horn. Follow the airman in his flight between these two points, and note how the capitals and leading cities of Western Europe and of Eastern South America lie along his route. Already the Portuguese airmen have blazed the way across the watery stretches. From Pernambuco in Brazil the distance to New York is 3,698 nautical miles; to Lisbon, 3,156. to Cape Town, South Africa, 3,318. Geographically the Continent of South America is closer to the Continent of "Eurafrica" than to the United States of America. When it comes to laying out routes of trade and communication we cannot overcome the distance table. Commercially, racially, and socially, also, the Continent

of South America is much closer to Europe and Africa than to the United States. We are essentially separate and independent communities of interest.

New economic conditions, however, are arising which may bring about a change in this situation. The enormous and increasing consumption of our natural mineral resources will soon bring the great nations of the temperate zones face to face with the vital problem of fuel for the rapidly multiplying motors and other kinds of engines. As the store of coal, gas and oil approaches exhaustion, we must be searching harder and harder for substitutes. We cannot stop long enough for Nature to grow us another crop, even if she should be willing to do it for us. But in the tropical belt, Nature works 365¼ days every year, and produces each year with little or no assistance from man a tremendous amount of vegetation. From this annual crop we may extract our year's supply of alcohol for motors and oil for Diesel engines. It would be well for us of the United States to recall the story of the wise and foolish virgins, and look to the oil for our lamps in time.

Africa is the most extensive tropical land; the great natural sun-factory. The European nations have already filed their applications for the output of the African energy plant. We would naturally turn to tropical America. Around the West Indies the Caribbean border of South America, Central America and Mexico there stretches a natural, logical, and necessary sphere of influence for the United States of America.

One practical suggestion I might offer in the way of world-adjustment. Considering that Europe is politically possessed of tropical Africa, and that the other continents have a liberal allowance of tropical lands, it might not be asking too much in this respect to have America for the Americas. The Guianas, British, Dutch, and French, by a suitable exchange of diplomacy and bank credits, might be brought under the influence or control of the United States with benefit to all and injury to none.

Boonton, N. J., July 9, 1922.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

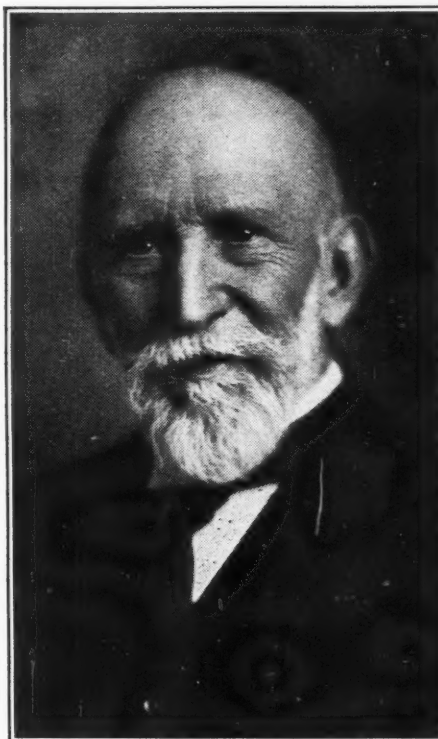
By EVERETT P. WHEELER

Author of "The Modern Law of Carriers," "Daniel Webster, Expounder of the Constitution," "Sixty Years of American Life," and other books

*Remarkable growth of the power of trade unions—
Their aggressive attitude toward owners, non-union
organizations and courts—Phases of their activities*

[SECOND INSTALMENT]

THE growth in the power of labor unions in the United States is remarkable. During the discussion of the railroad strike in August, 1916, it was asserted and not denied that the four railroad brotherhoods had \$1,000,000 in their treasury; had property amounting to \$15,000,000 more and an annual income of no less than \$4,000,000. William Z. Foster testified before the committee which investigated the strike of 1919 that there were about 2,000,000 members of the five international associations, and that the average dues would be a dollar a month. This would make \$24,000,000 a year. Foster said that about 75 per cent. of this would go to local unions. Although corporations are required to make sworn returns for their receipts and expenses and



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EVERETT P. WHEELER

are accountable for these, not only to their stockholders, but also to the public, there is no such requirement placed upon the unions. They are not taxed. Their discipline is extraordinary.

Labor leaders often say that they will not do any harm to persons or property; that they "will fold their arms and do nothing." Let us for a moment assume that no affirmative act of wrongdoing would be committed. Is it not clear that the stopping of the operation of railways

EDITORIAL NOTE—

This completes Mr. Wheeler's study of the progress of the labor movement in the United States from 1890 to 1922, which was begun in the August CURRENT HISTORY. In the first instalment the author surveyed the Federal and State legislation affecting the workman's welfare, and cited various cases illustrating the advantage of friendly arbitration as compared with "the right to strike."

is just as injurious to the people who need to use them, in order to go to and fro to earn their own living or to get the necessary supplies for their families, as if the men burned the barns or destroyed the cars? It kills a man just as quickly if you plug an artery as if you cut his throat. Society cannot live without the circulation of the blood. The railroads are the channels through which it circulates. The chiefs of these great labor unions should seriously consider whether it is possible for society permanently to tolerate a condition under which this circulation can be stopped.

As for the pledge of the labor leaders, experience has shown, unfortunately, that when a strike comes there is always violence. If any man comes forward to take the place of a striker, he is reviled, spit upon, assailed and sometimes murdered. "Exterminate the vermin," said Foster in 1919, referring to the men who went to work. Yet their right to work is as sacred as that of the others to quit. In the railroad strike of 1894 engines and cars, switches and tracks were injured or destroyed, and those who were trying to operate the trains in obedience to law were mobbed. In the coal strike of 1902 the cruelties practiced by the strikers upon all who did not co-operate with them were such that Wayne MacVeagh, who was a man of the utmost fairness, said it was "hell." These cruelties were inflicted not only on the men, but on their wives and children, on teachers in the public schools, on every living being in the district who did not co-operate with the strikers. These outrages are not always committed by members of the labor unions, but a strike always gives opportunity to the lawless element in the community. This is one reason why strikes should be prevented.

One of the most remarkable instances of the power of a labor union to control the policy of the United States Government is to be found in the transactions which followed the loss of the Titanic in 1912. A conference of the principal maritime States was held in London in 1913. Eleven delegates from the United States attended, including Senators Burton and Lewis and the Hon. J. W. Alexander, Chairman of the House Committee on Mer-

chant Marine. The conference agreed unanimously upon a convention, which was transmitted by Mr. Bryan, who was then Secretary of State, to the President on March 13, 1914. We quote from his letter to the President:

The convention embodies the unanimous conclusions of the International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea, which met at London from Nov. 12, 1913, to Jan. 20, 1914. The conference was composed of the representatives of the fourteen principal maritime nations, and of three self-governing British dominions. It was called, in a large measure, upon the suggestion of the Government of the United States, and the advice of the American delegation was influential upon a great many particulars which entered into this convention. The conference was composed of men trained to the sea and experienced in the administration of the laws relating to maritime affairs, and its unanimous conclusions carry weight on the matters of which the convention treats. The American delegates, who took an active part in the framing of every article and regulation of the convention, are agreed that the international standards for the safety of life at sea thus proposed to be established are higher than those of any nation now in force, and that the ratification of the convention will secure benefits for humanity by the joint action of maritime nations which could not be accomplished by any one nation, however powerful, upon the sea.

This convention was transmitted by the President to the Senate on March 17, 1914. Mr. Furuseth, Chief of the International Seamen's Union of America, opposed the ratification of the convention, and advocated the passage of a bill which would give to seamen on American ships greater rights than those provided for by the convention. The agreement, however, was ratified by the Senate on Dec. 16, 1914. Mr. Furuseth, nevertheless, had influence enough with Secretary Bryan to induce him not to deposit in London the instrument of ratification within the time required by the convention. It consequently became inoperative as far as the United States was concerned, and Furuseth got his bill through. The additional burden imposed by this bill upon the American mercantile marine, as compared with that of other nations, is one of the difficulties under which American shipping now suffers.

President Wilson justly said in January, 1916: "It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleases."

It is significant that several rules insur-

ing additional safety in navigation which are contained in the London convention are omitted from the Seamen's act. This would indicate that Furuseth was more concerned in getting higher wages for the seamen and enabling them to desert with impunity, than he was in the preservation of their lives.

STATE CONTROL IN KANSAS

The most important legislation on industrial control that has been adopted in America is that of the State of Kansas in the year 1920, which created what is known as the "Kansas Court of Industrial Relations." The circumstances of the appointment of this court can best be stated in the language of Governor Henry J. Allen in his message to the Kansas Legislature Jan. 5, 1920:

An extraordinary need for additional legislation was revealed during the last two months by a most daring attempt to override Government and make the public the helpless victim of a fuel famine. With a heartlessness that has no parallel in the history of the industrial quarrel, the public was told that, while the controversy over a wage scale was going on between capital and labor, it could freeze. The operators would make no effort to operate the mines, had the union miners' officials stated that no one would be allowed to attempt production of coal until the demand they made for a 60 per cent. increase in wages and a shortening of working time to six hours a day, five days a week, should be granted by the operators. In the midst of Winter, with a shortage of coal which usually confronts this section of the country, because of indifferent mining during the Summer months, operations ceased. All relations between operators and miners were broken off, and the two sides watched each other with sullen hostility. It was estimated that the reserve supply in this section, under the most economic use, would provide for not over two weeks of fuel. Both parties to the quarrel had supplied themselves with sufficient coal to keep themselves from freezing, and the attitude to the public was of that callous indifference which has become familiar to the public. In Kansas public institutions began closing down rapidly. In many communities schools closed almost immediately. There was suffering in homes and hospitals. If the situation had gone on two weeks without relief, actual death would have accompanied the fuel famine. The baleful determination of the miners' officials that no relief should be granted the public during the quarrel is illustrated by a typical incident at Pittsburgh, where the principal hospital of the town, located in the very heart of the coal district, was allowed to go without coal until the State stepped in to provide relief. Two union miners who had attempted to operate a small pit for the sole purpose of relieving that hospital were warned to quit. It was pointed out to the

miners' officials that death would ensue unless relief were allowed to the helpless sick in that hospital. Nevertheless, the edict of the coal miners' officials was that not a pound of coal should be produced to relieve even a poignant demand of that character.

While these tragedies were impending, the State, through a receivership ordered by the Supreme Court, took charge of the mines, and spent a week urging the miners to return to work for the State to relieve the public from the menace of the famine. A proposal similar to the one they accepted several weeks later at Indianapolis was made to them by the State of Kansas. Many miners expressed the desire to accept it, but the leaders refused to allow them to return to work. A large number of miners expressed to me their desire to work, their lack of sympathy with the effort to freeze the public, but said that if they should go back to work their property would be in peril, their families humiliated, and their very lives endangered. The State then called for volunteers to take charge of the mines. More than ten thousand men, from every vocation in life, enrolled. From this great offering about one thousand men, many of them from the schools and colleges of the State, a large number of whom were ex-soldiers from the American Legion, were chosen. With unselfish devotion, during the severest weather of the Winter, they hurried to the coal fields. With them went the Fourth Regiment of the Kansas National Guard.

Governor Allen then described the successful operation of the mines by the volunteers, and stated that the proceeds from the sale of coal covered the cost of operation. Finally the strike was called off.

COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Meanwhile the Kansas Legislature passed a bill which created a tribunal known as the "Court of Industrial Relations," composed of three Judges appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Senate. Section 3 of the bill declared that the operation of the industries mentioned in it are "affected with the public interest and therefore subject to supervision by the State, as herein provided, for the purpose of preserving the public peace, protecting the public health, preventing industrial strife, disorder and waste, and securing regular and orderly conduct of the businesses directly affecting the living conditions of the people of this State and in the promotion of the general welfare." The industries referred to were the manufacture or preparation of food products, clothing and fuel and the transportation of these articles from the place of production to the place of manufacture

or consumption. The bill applied to public utilities generally and common carriers.

Section 6 declared that it is "necessary for the public peace, the health and general welfare of the people of this State that the industries, employments, public utilities and common carriers herein specified shall be operated with reasonable continuity and efficiency in order that the people of this State may live in peace and security and be supplied with the necessities of life."

The same section makes it illegal for any person or association "to hinder, delay, limit or suspend such continuous and efficient operation; to do any act, or neglect or refuse to perform any duty enjoined by the law with the intent to hinder, delay, limit or suspend such continuous and efficient operation."

Authority for investigation is given. This may be initiated upon complaint of any party to the controversy or of any ten citizen taxpayers of the community in which such industries are located, or upon complaint of the Attorney General.

THE COURT'S POWERS

The court is authorized to order any changes necessary to be made "in the matters of working and living conditions, and hours of labor, rules and practices, and a reasonable minimum wage or standard of wages."

Provided all such terms, conditions and wages shall be just and reasonable, and such as to enable such industries, employments, utilities or common carriers to continue with reasonable efficiency, and thus to promote the general welfare.

Section 9 provides a rule of law to be administered by the court:

It is hereby declared necessary for the promotion of the general welfare that workers engaged in any of said industries, employments, utilities or common carriers, shall receive at all times a fair wage, and have healthful and moral surroundings while engaged in such labor, and that capital invested therein shall receive at all times a fair rate of return to the owners thereof.

The court has authority, if either party to a controversy refuse to obey its orders, to bring proceedings in the Supreme Court of the State to compel compliance with the order. Any order made by the court is subject to review in the Supreme Court. An appeal from the order must be taken within ten days after it has

been served upon the party affected. The appeal is to have precedence over every civil case before that court.

Another section of the act recognizes the right of labor unions, whether incorporated or not, to bargain collectively for their members. All such bargains are subject to the rule before quoted from Section 9. The court has power to authorize an employer to limit or cease operations. It is also authorized to regulate the conduct of industries "ordinarily affected by changes in season, market conditions or other reasons or causes inherent in the nature of the business." The act prohibits strikes or conspiracy to induce persons to quit employment for the purpose of interfering with or suspending the operation of any of the industries specified. It forbids picketing, threats or abuse to induce persons to quit employment or to prevent others from accepting employment.

In case of an emergency seriously affecting the public welfare "by endangering the public peace or threatening the public health," the court is authorized to take proceedings in any State court of competent jurisdiction for the appointment of a receiver of the industry, "provided that a fair return and compensation shall be paid to the owner of such industry, employment, public utility or common carrier, and also a fair wage to the workers engaged therein, during the time of such operation under the provisions of this section."

This brief review, which might easily be more extended, shows that the claim often made by the chiefs of labor unions that the great improvement in the conditions of labor is due entirely to them, is unjustified by the facts. They have undoubtedly done much good, and it is a pleasure to recognize this. But to say that these improvements are entirely due to them is untrue. They are due in a large part to the unselfish activity of public spirited men and women who have labored diligently for the improvement of their fellows. For example, the movement for the shortening of hours of labor, and against the employment of women and children in the mines, was inaugurated in England, not by the trade unions, but by Lord Shaftesbury, who devoted his life to those noble ends. Similar activity by

others, both men and women, contributed to the same result. Henry Mayhew's book, "London Labor and London Poor," published in 1864, and the activities of Arnold Toynbee and other university men did as much for the welfare of the London poor as the trade unions ever accomplished. Every good citizen should realize that it is not by strife, but by co-operation, that the greatest good can be accomplished for all citizens.

We have so far considered the evolution of the labor movement by mutual agreement and by legislation. We must now tell the story of its aggressive and warlike side.

THE PULLMAN CASE

In the year 1893 there came upon the United States that revolution in business commonly called a panic. This affected the commerce transacted by means of railroads. There was a town in Illinois south of Chicago known as Pullman. Comfortable houses were built for the workmen near the manufactory. The water supply and the drainage were of the best type. Pumping engines sucked the air from the houses through the drainage pipes, thus insuring good ventilation. Visitors to Chicago were taken to see this model city.

The Pullman Company felt itself obliged, because of the great falling-off in the demand for its cars, to reduce the wages of the workmen employed in its factory. The workmen refused to accept the reduction and the union of which they were members decided on a strike. There was then an American Railway Union, of which Eugene V. Debs was President, which had an enrollment of 150,000 members. He ordered a strike on railroads for the purpose of supporting the Pullman strike, which extended through twenty-seven States. A bill was filed by Attorney General Olney, under the direction of President Cleveland, alleging that Debs and his associates were combining to obstruct the commerce of the country. The Court enjoined them from doing that. They were advised that the injunction was illegal, and they disobeyed it. They were arrested and put in prison. Mr. Debs testified before the commission of investigation appointed by Mr. Cleveland as fol-

lows: "As soon as the employes found that we were arrested and taken from the scene of action they became demoralized, and that ended the strike." He declared that it was neither the troops nor the police that broke up that strike, but the action of the United States courts. Their action was sustained by the Supreme Court (*In re Debs*, 158 U. S. 563; *ex parte Lennon*, 166 U. S. 548).

In the Phelan case (52 Fed. Rep. 803) Judge Taft (now Chief Justice) dealt with a disturbance arising out of this strike. Phelan was an organizer who induced railroad men to strike. The Court found that this was a violation of the order that all persons refrain from interfering with interstate commerce, and committed him for contempt. Judge Taft said that an individual had the right voluntarily to quit work. He was under no time contract. But the Court could restrain the chiefs of secret orders, in the management of which the public had no voice, from doing injury to the public. To quote his words:

The purpose, shortly stated, was to starve the railroad companies and the public into compelling Pullman to do something which they had no lawful right to compel him to do. Certainly the starvation of a nation cannot be a lawful purpose of combination, and it is utterly immaterial whether the purpose is effected by means usually lawful or otherwise.

Debs further testified: "A strike is war. Not necessarily a war of blood and bullets, but a war in the sense that it is a conflict between two contending interests or classes of interests."

In the litigation which grew out of this strike, the following telegrams, which were exchanged between Debs and Phelan, show the proceedings of the strike leaders. There were many others of the same character:

DEBS TO PHELAN

July 2, 1894.

Knock it to them as hard as possible. Keep Big Four out and help get them out at other places.

PHELAN TO DEBS

Advices from all points show our position strengthened. Baltimore & Ohio, Pan Handle, Big Four, Lake Shore, Erie, Grand Trunk and Michigan Central are now in fight. Take measures to paralyze all those that enter Cincinnati. Not a wheel turning on Grand Trunk between here and the Canadian line.

The President appointed a commission in 1894 to investigate this strike. Carroll D. Wright—then Commissioner of Labor

—was one of the members of the commission. This body examined under oath many witnesses acquainted with the facts, and considered the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates. That commission had been created during Mr. Cleveland's first Administration (Feb. 4, 1887, C. 104). The commission of 1894 reported "that which is done under the act to regulate commerce as to rates can safely and ought probably to be done as to railroad wages, &c., by commission and the courts."

THE ERDMAN ACT

The recommendation was not adopted, but in 1898 the law known as the Erdman act was passed. This act provided that when a controversy arose between railroad companies and their workmen concerning conditions of employment which threatened to interrupt the service, either party to the controversy might ask the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Commissioner of Labor to try to effect an amicable settlement. If this endeavor should fail, a board of arbitrators was to be appointed, one chosen by the company, one by the employees, and a third by the first two selected. In case of their failure to agree, the third member was to be chosen by the Commissioner of Labor and the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. During the course of the arbitration no employee was to be discharged except for inefficiency, violation of law, or neglect of duty, and the employees were not to unite in any strike. A strike was prohibited at any time within three months after the award, unless thirty days' notice in writing was given of such intention.

For eleven years during which the Erdman act was in force there were three arbitrations under it. In one of these, a strike on the Georgia Railroad had entirely suspended traffic upon 300 miles of a very important railway, and had caused great sufferings to the public. The award of the arbitral tribunal settled it. Nothing in this act made arbitration compulsory.

In the case of *Adair vs. United States* (208 U. S., 161, January, 1908) it was decided that the provisions in the tenth section of the Erdman Act, which made it unlawful to discriminate against any

employee, because of membership in a labor union, was not within the power of Congress to enact. The majority of the Court put the decision on the ground that "there is no such connection between interstate commerce and membership in a labor organization as to authorize Congress to make it a crime against the United States to discharge an employee because of such membership on his part." The occurrences of August, 1916, must have enlightened the court upon this subject. It might now hold that the principle they had relied upon was sound, but did not apply to the situation (*Muller vs. Oregon*, 208 U. S. 412, 420).

There is a passage in the majority opinion which appears to have been overlooked. Mr. Justice Harlan said: "Of course if the parties, by contract, fix the period of service and prescribe the conditions upon which the contract may be terminated, such contract would control the rights of the parties as between themselves. And for any violation of those provisions the party wronged would have his appropriate civil action." If, therefore, a contract of service for a term should be entered into, the power of the court to enforce it would be undoubted.

NEW MEDIATION BODIES

This Erdman act was repealed by the act of July 15, 1913 (C. 6, 38 Stat. 103). This new act provided for the creation of a Board of Mediation and Conciliation to deal with disputes between common carriers and their employees. The board was empowered "in any case in which an interruption of traffic is imminent and fraught with serious detriment to the public interest * * * to proffer its services to the respective parties." If the dispute cannot be settled by mediation and conciliation it "may be submitted to the arbitration of a board of six" or of three persons, if the parties prefer. In either case, a third of the board is named by the employer, a third by the employees and a third by the arbitrators thus chosen. If they fail to agree, these are named by the Board of Mediation and Conciliation. The power given to the arbitrators under this act to subpoena witnesses and compel production of books and papers and the like is ample. If the controversy is sub-

mitted to them, their award is to be filed in the Clerk's office of a District Court of the United States and judgment is to be entered thereon. If either party file exceptions, these are heard in the District Court, and an appeal from the judgment of that court may be taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals. The act contains this provision: "Nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require an employee to render personal service without his consent" (Section 8).

In order to establish a more effective system of arbitration for disputes between common carriers and their employes, Congress established by the act of Feb. 28, 1920, a Railroad Labor Board composed of nine members, three constituting the labor group, three the management group and three the public group. The act made it the duty of carriers "to exert every reasonable effort and adopt every available means to avoid any interruption to the operation of any carrier growing out of any dispute between the carrier and the employes." The board is authorized to hear and decide any dispute between them. It may act upon the application of the chief executive of any carrier, or organization of employes, or upon the petition of 100 employes who do not belong to a union, or upon its own motion. A standard rate of wages is fixed. The board is empowered to require attendance of witnesses and the production of books and papers.

ROOSEVELT'S INTERVENTION

Retracing our steps in order of time, we turn to another industry. In May, 1902, some 147,000 miners composing the United Mine Workers' Association in the anthracite coal region went on a strike. This lasted five months. It was accompanied by murder and other deeds of violence, and caused great suffering, especially to the poor through the Eastern States and on the Atlantic seaboard. On Oct. 1 President Roosevelt sent telegrams to the Presidents of the coal companies and to John Mitchell, the President of the United Mine Workers' Association, to meet him on Oct. 3 "in regard to the failure of the coal supply, which has become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation."

With all the energy of his vigorous nature Roosevelt urged upon both parties the necessity of a settlement. On Oct. 6 he promised to appoint an impartial commission to investigate the subject if the men would return to work at once. He said: "The commission is to investigate thoroughly all matters at issue between the operators and miners, and I will do all in my power to obtain a settlement of these questions in accordance with the report of the commission."

On Oct. 13 J. Pierpont Morgan, on behalf of the coal companies, offered to submit the whole controversy to a commission of five to be appointed by the President. This commission was to be composed of an engineer officer, a mining engineer, a Judge of one of the Federal courts, a sociologist and a man acquainted with the business of mining and transporting coal. The offer was accepted by the men on Oct. 21, and they went to work at once. The President made five admirable appointments and added to them Bishop Spalding and the Labor Commissioner, Carroll D. Wright. These appointments met with universal satisfaction. It was agreed that "all the questions at issue between the respective companies and their own employes, whether they belong to the union or not," should be decided by the commission. This body convened Oct. 25. Judge Gray was elected Chairman. They first inspected the mines and the business of transporting coal, and the hearing began Nov. 14. Its award decided all questions in difference and provided a satisfactory method for the adjustment of grievances which might from time to time arise. For this purpose a Conciliation Board was established, composed of three representatives of the employes and three of the employers, with provision for an umpire when necessary. One of its important provisions was for a sliding scale of wages, to vary with the market price of coal. The award was to continue in force until March 31, 1906. In that year, after much debate, it was continued in force for three years more.

When the strife was over, Judge Gray said that the crisis the President had faced "was more grave and threatening than any since the Civil War, threatening not

only the comfort and health, but the safety and good order of the nation." The London Times said: "In the most quiet and unobtrusive manner, President Roosevelt has done a very big thing." His success shows the power of moral energy and dauntless courage.

LABOR DEFIES THE COURTS

A most significant change in the position of the labor unions in this country is in their attitude to the courts and to judicial decisions. This has been manifested in the recent meetings of the American Federation of Labor. That Federation is probably the largest labor union in the world. Mr. Gompers has just officially stated its present membership as 3,195,651. Its membership in 1921 was 3,906,528. Its income in the latter year was \$832,169.96, and it had in its treasury \$178,262.72. International associations expended during the same year, to sustain members on strike, \$8,462,175.09. They must be seriously reckoned with, not only because of their numerous membership, but because of their great income, which enables them to make effective propaganda.

Trade unions in the United States receive the privilege of exemption from taxation. Section 231 of the Federal Tax law, approved Nov. 23, 1921, provides that labor organizations "shall be exempt from taxation under this article." They were exempt under the prior tax law. An organization which has received such special favors should be loyal to the country which gives that privilege. But we find the Federation declaring in 1921, and again in the present year, that the action of the courts in passing judgment upon the constitutionality of acts of Legislature is a usurpation. The gentlemen making this declaration forget the fundamental principle of the American Constitution—not only Federal but State—that the People are sovereign, and that the People make the Constitution to protect the rights of the individual against the power of those who are for the time charged with the administration of government.

In order to protect these rights, courts are created and expressly given the power to determine cases arising under the Constitution and the laws of the country. When the courts declare an act of the Legislature

to be in violation of the Constitution, they simply say that the agents who voted for the act did what they had no right to do. This is maintained by the courts, not only of the United States, but of all the British Dominions. It is a necessary consequence of a written constitution, with a court to declare its meaning.

This same Federation assails the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the *Coronado* case, that a trade union is responsible for acts of violence committed by its members in carrying out the orders of the union. Such responsibility is imposed upon all other organizations. It is a movement in the wrong direction for a trade union to claim exemption from such liability. In 1912, when Mr. Gompers was examined as a witness before the Interstate Committee of the Senate, he gave the following testimony:

Senator Cummins—I take it you do not object to responsibility for an unlawful act in some form or other?

Mr. Gompers—Certainly not.

Senator Cummins—that is, every man, whether alone or whether in association with others, if he commits a wrong, ought to respond for that act either to the public in a criminal prosecution or to the person who was injured by his unlawful act?

Mr. Gompers—Unquestionably.

We note that Mr. Justice Brandeis, before his appointment to the Supreme Court, used the following language in an article on arbitration published Aug. 20, 1915: "A plea of trade unions for immunity, be it from injunction or from liability for damages, is as fallacious as the plea of lynchers." Mr. Brandeis was always considered a friend of trade unions. With their full approval he was made Chairman of the Board of Arbitration in the clothing trade and took an active part in promoting the agreement in that trade which has been before referred to.

RECENT CHALLENGES BY LABOR

The trade unions will find that their true course as good citizens is to submit cheerfully to the same laws which are binding on their fellow citizens. When their purposes are right and good, they need no exemption; when their purposes are evil, they ought not to have it.

It is too soon to make a complete analy-

sis of the rise and progress of the coal strike which is on at this writing. The public has no authentic information in regard to the facts. It is clear, however, that one cause of the difference is this: Mr. Lewis, the President of the United Mine Workers, insists upon an agreement which shall be uniform throughout all the bituminous mining districts. The operators contend that the conditions are so different in the different districts that it is impossible to make a uniform agreement which shall be just.

Other facts have been made clear, by sworn testimony, in the case of Gasaway vs. Borderland Coal Corporation, decided by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in December, 1921 (Chicago Legal News, Dec. 21, 1921):

The evidence shows that the members of the Mine Workers' Union purchased firearms and ammunition, and otherwise financed the violent activities in behalf of the unionizing forces in West Virginia, and this state of war continued until the President sent troops into the State, and it is held in abeyance only because of the fact.

The evidence shows that the revenues of the Mine Workers' Union are produced from dues and assessments levied upon the members, that these dues and assessments are, by an arrangement between the miners' organization and the operators, taken from the wages of the workers in the mines by the operators and paid by them to the organization of mine workers. This is the "check-off" system. The membership is large, and the dues and assessments yield an enormous sum.

Statements made by the officers of the United Mine Workers show that the miners' organization has sent into West Virginia to carry on this struggle more than two and a half million dollars. This money was derived from the "check-off" system, and was sent to West Virginia to assist in the effort to organize the West Virginia field.

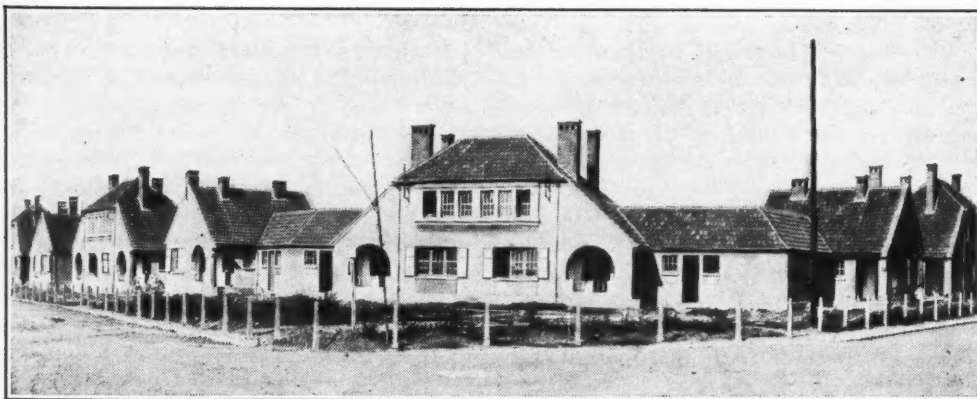
The system of the Mine Workers' Union in all the districts where it has succeeded in "unionizing" the mines is this: No man is allowed to work in the mines unless he is a member of the union. When he becomes a member he is required to sign a contract that his dues to the union shall be deducted from his pay, and sent by the company to the Treasurer of the union. As long as he remains a member of the union, this contract remains in force. The only way he can get rid of it is by resigning

from the union, in which case he loses his job.

Here we see a persistent attempt by a trade union to compel workers in the non-union mines to join the union, pay dues to the Treasurer, and authorize the employer to deduct these dues and pay them to the union. The union makes no public report of its finances. But obviously, if it is able to spend millions of dollars in warfare to compel unwilling miners to join the union, it must have an ample fund. Yet the miners' union is making bitter complaint because the employers in the non-union mines are meeting force with force, and are doing all they can to prevent their men from joining this hostile organization. The unions are not "good sports." They want to fight, but they do not admit the right to strike back. They should remember that when force is resorted to, it will be opposed by force. They claim the right of free speech for their friends, but do not concede it to their adversaries, and do not recognize that freedom of speech has its limits. No one has a right to use language which incites men to violate the rights of others, much less when it incites them to riot and violence.

As Theodore Roosevelt said in his speech to the striking teamsters of Chicago, May 19, 1905: "I am a believer in unions. But the unions must obey the law, just as the corporations must obey the laws; just as every man, rich or poor, must obey the laws."

Washington, himself, during his Administration, had to deal with a combination in Pennsylvania to resist the execution of acts of Congress, and assail the authority of the courts. This, by a judicious mixture of tact and firmness, he succeeded in suppressing. This experience, and a previous similar insurrection in Massachusetts, led him to say in his farewell address to the American people: "All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency."



Model homes in the French Garden village of Tergnier, built by the Northern Railway Company for its employes. Note the splendid treatment of that street corner

GARDEN VILLAGES OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By GEORGES BENOIT-LEVY

Director of the Garden City Association of France

TWICE a day throughout the world some new garden village, garden hamlet, or modern housing group in which gardens figure prominently is started toward construction.

Only a few of these deserve the title of garden village, and still fewer may be called garden cities. In fact, there are only two real garden cities in existence, namely, Letchworth and Welwyn, both in England. Though Garden City, L. I., is a well-planned community, only to the two English cities may be applied the definition set up by Purdom: "A garden city is a town planned for industry and healthy living; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a permanent belt of rural land, the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community."

In Belgium and France the garden city

A brief account of the modern housing movement which is transforming war-ravaged France and Belgium—Model industrial villages rapidly developing toward the garden city ideal—The hope of the future

has not yet appeared, but many garden villages (industrial villages) and garden suburbs have arisen. Several thousand workmen's families, aided by the State, have become their own landlords. Under the French housing laws a loan of four-fifths of the total value of the property is offered, by State or semi-public institutions, to people with a maximum income of \$1,600 a year, and is repayable in twenty-five annual instalments. The interest is from 2 to 3½ per cent. per annum, according to the size of the family, while for disabled soldiers who wish to create a rural homestead the rate is only 1 per cent.; the loan in country districts can reach a maximum of \$8,000, instead of

the \$2,000 allowed in the case of urban "cheap housing."

Acting under the powers given to cities and to county councils to establish independent "foundations" for the construction and maintenance of new garden suburbs, the County Council of Greater Paris (Conseil général de la Seine) shortly before the war voted to establish the Public Bureau of Housing of the Seine Department (l'Office public des habitations du Département de la Seine). This independent body now owns 600 acres of ground, divided into plots ranging from 20 to 200 acres, located within a six-mile radius from the centre of Paris. The value of both lands and buildings totals \$6,000,000, nearly all of which sum was provided by the Seine Department. The department itself owns 120 acres, valued at \$1,000,000. When the whole garden suburb scheme is completed, there will be 1,325 families housed under the very best conditions.

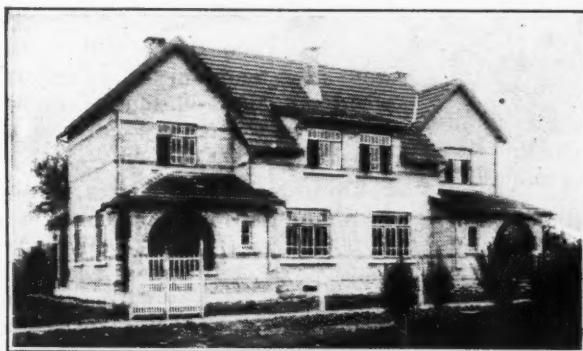
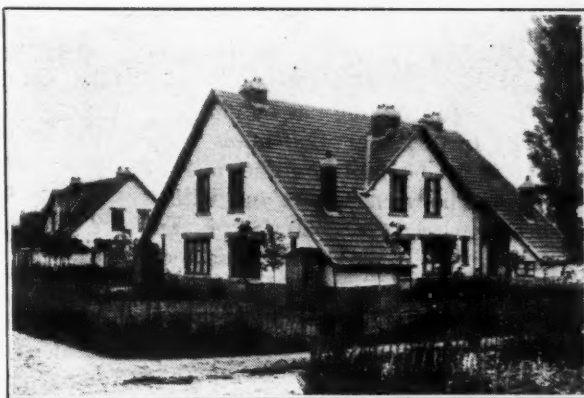
The appearance of these new garden suburbs is charming. When one takes the train out of Paris, and passes through the usual dull and dirty outlying districts, one is suddenly quite agreeably surprised by a

view of one of these model communities, with its high gables, its red-tiled roofs, its whitewashed, rough-cast walls with climbing Dorothy Perkins roses and its joyous children running about in the open. One of the best examples is the district called the Lilacs, where I reside. The architect, Henri Sellier, is responsible for this and other garden suburbs of the Seine.

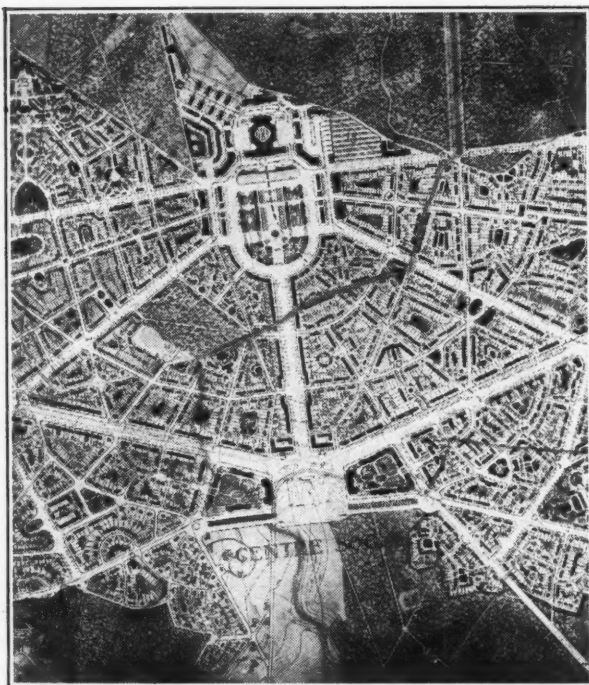
There is plenty of room for private initiative in this field, inasmuch as it is estimated that fully 100,000 new houses are needed within a ten-mile radius of Paris. Three co-operative societies were formed before the war which are now working on estates of forty-five, fifty and eighty acres. A new one, started by railroad employees, will build 500 houses at Villeparisis, near Paris.

Of special interest is the fact that plans are being worked out for the erection of a real garden city. The architects, de Rutte, Bassompierre, Sirvin and Peyret-Dortail, winners of the competition for the extension of Paris, have worked out in all details, under the guidance of Henri

Homes of workingmen and their families in the garden village of Le Trait, near Rouen, France



Four houses in one, arranged for four separate families. One of the experiments of the Northern Railway Company



The Garden City of Greater Paris, one of the new and beautiful suburbs of the French capital. The railway station and the civic centre are surrounded by residences on a plan created by several of the foremost landscape architects of France

Sellier, the project of such a city, to cover 3,800 acres and to house 100,000 inhabitants. The centre of this new community will not be further than five miles from Paris. It is to be built on the hill of Plessis-Piquet, between Sceaux and Vélisy, at an average height of 350 feet. Entirely surrounded by parks and forests, on the south side of Paris, this land is yet unbuilt upon, owing to inadequate means of transportation. These, however, can easily be improved when the project is completed. (See the layout plan reproduced above.)

For a number of years manufacturers have been providing homes for their workmen. Thousands of villages have been built by mining companies, or by spinning mill operators. But only in recent times have these well-intentioned captains of industry decided to build in modern fashion and according to the garden-village principles laid down by Lord Leverhulme of Port Sunlight and George Cadbury of Bournville. The companies of Lens, of

Béthune, of Anzin, were the first to start real, decent homes. To the mining company of Dourges, and to M. Delille, its architect, however, falls the credit of having built in 1912 the first real garden village.

In this northern region of France, sacked and ravaged by the German hordes, our people are now building without any outside help model villages which will fix a new standard of beauty and hygiene. Special credit and honor must be given to the Northern Railroad Company, and to its chief civil engineers, Javary and Dautry, for their skillful pioneer work, carried out through a devoted staff of engineers and a social secretary. Even before the disappearance of the last German soldier from our land, these engineers started plans for the rebuilding of half a dozen towns destroyed along the lines of this road, and of twenty-eight smaller communities. The first 4,800 houses built were of a temporary type, and mostly of wood, but good, substantial and permanent houses were later erected, and there are now fully 7,000 of them.

The three largest places rebuilt by the Northern Railroad Company are Tergnier (1,000 houses); Lille-Delivrance (500); Lens (700). The most beautiful is Tergnier, with its fine plazas, public parks, lawns and playgrounds, its splendid edu-

cational centre, and its delightful cottages. Happy, indeed, are the railroad employes and the workmen of the car-repair shop who live in such a place. In each of these communities have been constructed sewers, public shower baths, meeting halls, health centres and co-operative shops. The company has built in all some twenty schools, of a beautiful, sanitary type. In order to avoid any hint of paternalism, all the villages of the company are self-managed. Thus at Tergnier the company has only three representatives in the Village Council and the inhabitants have twenty-four members, one elected by each fifty families.

It is interesting to compare the respective birth rates of the line's employes housed in ordinary Paris tenements and of those housed in their own cottages at Tergnier. For the first, the rate is 2 per cent.; for the second, 5 per cent. The death rate of children under 1 year, in 1921, was 4 per cent. in the garden village and 40 per cent. in the other area. These are facts that speak for themselves.

OTHER FRENCH COMMUNITIES

The next best scheme of reconstruction after the war is in the west of France, in the garden village of Le Trait, a suburb of Rouen, covering a length of two miles between Duclair and Caudebec on the right bank of the Seine. This village, started in 1917 by the Shipbuilding Com-

pany of the Navigable Seine, has an area of 600 acres. It does not look like the usual workingmen's community, but rather like a well-kept suburb. A glance at the illustration, showing the houses, the gardens and avenues, will confirm the exactness of my statement. Many of the residences stand alone, devoted to a single family; those for joint habitation never exceed four adjoining apartments. Some 150 houses have already been erected. The village also includes a co-operative store, a fish market, meeting hall, a domestic economy school and a public park. Under the direction of the chief gardener, flowers are taken from a community greenhouse and given to all who ask for them. The smallest houses have a large kitchen-dining room and three bedrooms, also a cellar and a wash house. The water comes from two wells, one 450 and the other 600

Glimpse of some of the happy occupants of a miner's home in the garden village of Dourges, France. Photographed by M. Benoit-Levy, director of the enterprise that has produced such homes





Homes of four of the mine foremen at Béthune, France, built on the new plan of beauty, utility and plenty of space for yard and garden

feet deep. There is a complete sewer system. Electrical connection for light and domestic power will be an original feature.

There are other projects, both of large and small scope, in process of execution for industrial villages in France. Noteworthy in the west is the community started by the Viscose Society near Dieppe-Arques, where good single houses have been built for employes this year. Near Caen, new industrial villages are also in existence. Near Nantes, the sardine merchants, Amieux Frères, have approved the plan for a delightful village of fifty acres. Pelletier, the architect, is organizing a model garden suburb near the same town. At Rheims, the native town of the French landscape architect, E. Redont, a co-operative society, with the help of Auburtin, the town planner, has built 600 new cottages covering sixty acres. At St. Pierre d'Almiermont, Jeanneret, a garden city architect, built a garden hamlet during the war. Ugines, in the Alps, and Le Creusot, in Central France, are well-known examples of intensive industrial housing. In the south, Messrs. Argod Mossant, the hat-makers, have commissioned prominent architects and landscape gardeners to lay out a garden village for their employes.

A small garden city of 600 acres is to be started in the Nice region, somewhere on the shores of the Mediterranean, and will be open to every lover of a free life

in the open, though it will be mainly inhabited by French and American residents. Bungalows and cottages are to be built. The main industries are to be art printing and binding, wrought iron and furniture; specialists in fruit and flowers will be required as well. The originator of this scheme is Fieschi-Vivet, who lives at Nice.

All these schemes, however, are either not yet completed, or are not of the real type of garden villages which I have described. Though we have not yet realized the garden city ideal in France, we are on the move, and who knows if the real garden city of the Letchworth or Welwyn type will not yet bloom from the earth of France within the comparatively near future? No country should be more able to carry out the idea, or would be more benefited by it.

GARDEN VILLAGES IN BELGIUM

The garden village idea is spreading very swiftly in Belgium, thanks to the National Society of Housing, to its President, Senator Vinck, its Director, Van Billoen, and to a large staff of able architects. During the last year there has been a real revival of domestic architecture in Belgium. Among the main projects may be mentioned the garden suburb of Hoboken, a delightful creation of the architect

Van Rompaey; the garden suburb of Middelkerke, on the Ostende-Furnes road, laid out by G. Hendrickx; the garden hamlet which is being built by M. de Nayer; the garden suburb of Saint Vaast, near Charleroi, built by the Foyer Louviérois Society. In the same province of Hainaut, under the Chairmanship of Paul Pastur, President of the Labor University of Charleroi, a competition was held, up to Aug. 15, for the submission of plans and estimates for standardized furniture. This kind of furniture has already been made in the United States by such firms as Morgan or Curtis, but it is a new thing in Continental Europe.

In a number of Belgian provinces the rebuilding of houses destroyed by the Germans has been carried on intensively. A stirring ceremony took place in the martyred City of Visé on May 25, when Baron Henry Delvaux de Fenffe, the High Royal Commissioner, and Governor Grégoire inaugurated the laying of the first stone of the thousandth house rebuilt in the Province of Liège. The inscription on this memorial stone read thus: "At Visé, the 25th of May, 1922, was placed the first stone of the thousandth house rebuilt in the Province of Liège under the

auspices of the High Royal Commissioner."

The only true garden village actually built in Belgium, however, is Vinterslag, a mining centre, sixty miles from Brussels and twenty miles from the Dutch frontier. Coal was discovered in this district, called the Campines, in 1910, and plans were already being prepared at the beginning of the war for the creation of a miners' garden village covering 700 acres of the 5,000 owned by the mining company. It is now planned to build 2,000 houses at the rate of four to the acre, if parks, squares and open spaces are included, or of eight to the net acre. Already 500 substantial \$5,000 houses are rented at \$8 monthly. Each house has a kitchen garden of at least 1,000 square yards, which is used to great advantage by the tenants. The village is laid out in broad, main avenues, meeting at "rond points" or small central squares, for the main traffic, and by curving roadways for the residential sections. The style of the houses is decidedly English, with red tile roofs and whitewashed rough-cast walls. The first group erected was called by the poetic name of the Rose Garden. It is planned to surround and screen Vinterslag by an agricultural and park belt. Truly, these Belgian miners are fortunate and happy folk. The author of their happiness is Adrien Blomme, one of the most eminent

Birdseye view of the reconstructed mining village of Béthune, France, showing the improved spacing and arrangement of the miners' homes



of Belgian architects, and the civil engineer, Janlet, who carried through the commission.

I have described only a few of the garden villages and suburbs of France and Belgium, in order to show the main tendency of these two countries in the construction of these model communities. I have no doubt that in the next fifty years the garden city proper will no longer be the monopoly of the British, but will spread throughout the civilized world. Let American readers think of the 6,000,000 inhabitants of Greater New York housed in modern communities of from

50 to 100,000 people settled on the finest spots in America. The good results of such new modes of community life could not be estimated. In conclusion I will quote the words of Esther Matson: "Phillips Brooks once said: 'The Bible shows how the world progresses. It begins with a garden, but ends with a Holy City.' Were Phillips Brooks living today, he would doubtless lend a helping hand to the world-wide interest in creating better cities on this our earth. Possibly then he would paraphrase his own sentence to the effect that 'human progress begins with a garden, but culminates in a garden city.'"

JEWEL MARKET GLUTTED BY RUSSIAN GEMS

JEWEL connoisseurs of Paris were filled with admiration toward the end of June after viewing the largest emerald in the world, which a well-known dealer was offering for sale. More than 100 carats in weight, this stone formed the centrepiece of a priceless necklace which once adorned the shoulders of Catherine the Great of Russia. On each side are five smaller emeralds, completing a circle of eleven flawless gems, amid which the great central emerald flames like a gleaming sun. Many prominent people went to view this rare jewel, including the Queen of Spain and ex-King Manuel of Portugal. The identity of the Russian from whom the jewel was obtained was not disclosed, but the gem dealer, M. Cartier, stated that "the last rightful owner is dead, and all he has left his descendants is the title." He further pointed out how the jewel market in France and elsewhere had been glutted by the unprecedented sale of Russian and Austrian crown jewels, many of which have eventually come to America, as Europeans are

too poor to purchase them. A Russo-French jeweler laid stress on the furious energy of the Bolshevik Government in searching out and disposing of imperial gems in Western Europe. He estimated the total value of the confiscated jewels at between 300,000,000 and 400,000,000 francs (normally \$60,000,000 to \$80,000,000). This included jewels sold at Reval, those given in part payment to English manufacturers, those turned over to the Polish Government to cover war costs after the Bolshevik defeat, those sent into Italy, Germany and France to be sold to finance Bolshevik propaganda. To the forced sales by noble but impoverished Russian exiles he attributed at least an equal value. This meant, he declared, that the Paris and London markets had within two years been swamped by an influx of rare and beautiful jewels worth between 600,000,000 and 800,000,000 francs, or from \$120,000,000 to \$160,000,000. This colossal figure, he implied, was an underestimate rather than an overestimate.



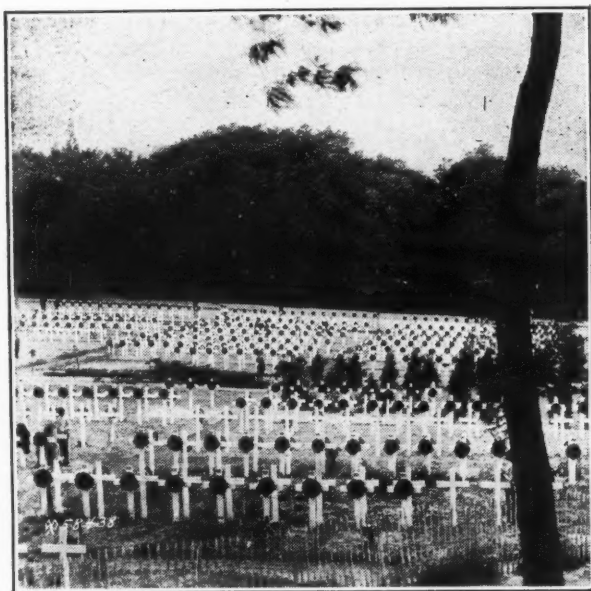
OUR CEMETERIES IN FRANCE

By VERDE MAE WHITING

EVERY liner that leaves New York carries at least one former member of the A. E. F., and sometimes as many as twenty or twenty-five. They are not only the officers of higher rank, but include many of the men who made up the citizen army; in fact, any former soldier who fought in France and who can scrape together the money is turning his steps, as well as his thoughts, to the battlefields.

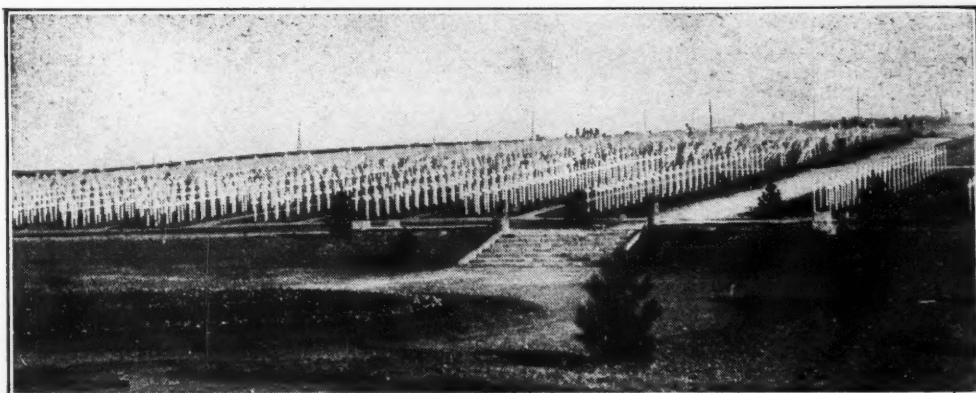
Our cemeteries there, as well as in Bel-

gium and England, will thus necessarily continue for at least a generation to be objects of pilgrimage for Americans. For this reason they should be kept permanently, and given care to maintain a definite memorial, in order that our participation in the war may not be lost sight of, and to justify the action of those who elected that the bodies of their dead should remain in the soil where they fought and died. This, in most cases, was an act of patriotism and sacrifice. The request for



Cemetery of Suresnes, near Paris, the most beautiful of the six burial places of the American dead who have been laid to rest in France

American cemetery of the Meuse-Argonne, resting place of many thousands who crossed the Atlantic and gave their lives to win the World War



the return of bodies was only 69 per cent. of the total number of American dead.

Of the six cemeteries that are to be maintained permanently in France, the Meuse-Argonne is the largest. The location, which is most important, is near the small town of Montfaucon, a short avenue connecting the western entrance with the town. The eastern one leads to the Village of Cunel, and both roads are used as approaches from Verdun. The 23,000 graves, with their uniform white headstones, standing in neat, straight rows, form a veritable army of the dead.

Suresnes, because of its nearness to Paris, is and will continue to be the most visited. For this reason it is planned to make this cemetery the most beautiful of all. The picture shows it decorated for Memorial Day. It is reached from the Arc de Triomphe by a drive down the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne, through the wooded park and across the Seine, and a climb up the steep slopes to the Boulevard George Washington. A direct and short approach is provided from the railway station for those visitors who do not motor thither.

Like a pocket handkerchief spread out on the grass to dry is the little cemetery of Bony, or Flanders Field, reached by the road that passes down into the valley from the Village of Bony. It is utterly without trees or shrubbery at present, but

an adequate planting has been planned for this cemetery as well as for Thiaucourt, near St. Mihiel. The graves, too, in Thiaucourt are only marked at present with temporary wooden crosses.

A short run from the half-ruined town of Château-Thierry brings one to the cemetery of Cantigny, or Belleau Wood. It is in the form of a segment of a circle and lies under the slopes of Belleau Wood, along the base of the hill and in parts of the field below. Near by are the French white crosses and the German black crosses that mark the graves of their dead.

Situated in the Oise-Aisne fields, near Fère en Tardenois, is the sixth and last of the French cemeteries—Seringes et Nesles, enclosed by the Forest of Nesles.

A number of our soldiers are buried in the American segment of the British Cemetery of Brookwood, as are also a few at Lady Astor's seat at Cliveden. There is also a small cemetery in Belgium.

The graves of our soldiers in France are few as compared with those of the British and French dead, or even as compared with the actual number of Americans who fell; but they are a visible symbol, in the beautiful French countryside, of the devotion of America to a great cause, and as such they are objects of loving and reverent care, for the "place is hallowed ground."

AMERICAN HOSPITAL AT RHEIMS

THE cornerstone of the American Memorial Hospital for Children, a gift of women and children of the United States, was dedicated at Rheims, France, by Myron T. Herrick, the American Ambassador, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, on May 21, 1922. The hospital, which was founded by the American Fund for French Wounded, was given, the Ambassador told the people of Rheims, "in the hope that you will always remember your comrades from across the sea, who came to you in those stern days when the spiritual glory of your present was the continuing chapter of your imperishable past." The building fund totals \$300,000, the permanent endowment \$600,000. The entire fund was raised in

the United States, and hundreds of beds were offered by individuals, clubs, schools and organizations. The foundation was based on the desire to erect a fitting memorial to the memory of the American soldiers who fell on the battlefield. The first proposer of this plan was Mrs. Benjamin G. Lathrop, the Paris representative of the American Fund for French Wounded, in 1919. At the suggestion of President Poincaré the organization offered a hospital to Rheims in that year, but as the ruins prevented its construction at that time, a separate fund was raised for a temporary children's and maternity hospital, dispensary and clinic; this provisional service will operate until the new hospital is completed.

THE SPIRIT AND POLICY OF FRANCE

By J. ELLIS BARKER

*A glance into the past to see why France acts as she does—
Fear for her safety, not desire for domination, her animating
motive—A frank statement of the perils that face the nation*

IN the opinion of many the French are an ambitious and restless people, who have taken up once more the policy of reckless aggression and conquest identified with Louis XIV. and Napoleon I. They maintain at present by far the strongest army in the world, and their activities in Europe, Asia and Africa and the attitude of their representatives at Washington seem to confirm that widely held opinion.

Julius Caesar described the French of his time—the Gauls—as a volatile people, extraordinarily bright and lively, excellent at repartee, fond of songs and oratory, easily carried away by an appeal to their imagination, rapidly roused to exaltation and equally rapidly depressed and disheartened by non-success. The character of the French people seems to be now as it was 2,000 years ago.

The early Celts were a race of conquerors. They swept over all Europe down into Greece and across the Mediterranean and destroyed countless States on their wanderings, but the great Celtic States of antiquity have disappeared. There seems to be some truth in the charge made by Bismarck and others that the Celts have destroyed many States, but established none, that they have a great genius for destruction, but none for construction. Notwithstanding the fact that, superficially considered, the French have not altered, that they have the same character which they had in the time of Caesar, and that they have apparently taken up once more their traditional policy, the French people of today are very different from the Frenchmen of the past. If we wish to understand the spirit which animates them and the policy which they pur-

sue we must take note of the change which has taken place in the character of the nation.

France was conquered by Julius Caesar after a terrible struggle in the course of which millions lost their lives. Caesar was an organizing genius of the first rank. He strove to Romanize the people, and he succeeded exceedingly well. He treated the native chiefs kindly and considerately and attached them to his own person and to Rome by bonds of affection and of interest. Many of the leaders adopted Caesar's name. Hence we find that the name Jules is still the most popular Christian name in France. Caesar's successors carried on Caesar's policy toward the French. France became a second Rome and became accustomed to a highly organized Government, to a quasi-military discipline, to ready obedience to its rulers. The Roman masters of France created a great system of military roads, established a great administrative apparatus, which was manned chiefly by natives, and raised large armies which had to fight Rome's battles. Discipline was far more strictly enforced in France than in Italy, where oppressed people could more easily complain at the capital of the empire in case of injustice.

With the decline and fall of the Roman Empire the great administrative apparatus and the military roads and other public works created by the Romans declined and decayed. Disorder and anarchy became general, but in course of time order was evolved once more by local chiefs and other leaders who not unnaturally strove to rebuild and reorganize the country in accordance with the Roman precedent, which had proved so successful in the past.

The feudal system arose, and with it the principle that there should be no land without a lord and no lord without land. Theoretically at least all the land belonged to the princes and to the nobles, while the cultivators, except a favored few, were landless.

The French, however, were at all times very different from the Russians and other people who readily bore serfdom as something natural and inevitable. The French spirit of criticism, of inquiry and of revolt against injustice asserted itself. Risings and revolutions of the landless occurred in many parts. The towns fought for the right of self-determination and strengthened their position against their feudal masters. The idea of modern democracy asserted itself more and more loudly, and it spread from the intellectual few to the masses of the people. Thus the ground was prepared for the great revolution which broke out in 1789 and which changed the face of France and of the world.

RISE OF THE NOBLES

For centuries the position of the French Kings was an insecure one. The great nobles and the towns wished to make themselves independent of their rulers. Every demand for military or financial aid led to requests for concessions and privileges. Thus the power of the kings was gradually reduced and that of the nobles and the towns was steadily enlarged, and the result was that in France, as in other countries, the kings became shadow kings, because all real power had been filched from them by their vassals. France became divided into numerous independent or semi-independent units to the great harm of the nation as a whole which was continually weakened by internecine warfare. The quarreling *grandeues* were not averse to calling foreigners to their aid.

The French have been the pacemakers of progress for centuries and centuries. They realized the evil of disunion and the advantages of national unity long before Germany, Italy and Spain, and they endeavored to make France a single State inhabited by a single nation. In the course of a long series of internal wars the resistance of the nobles, of the towns and

of the churches was broken and France became a comparatively well-organized and almost homogeneous nation, while the neighbor States east and south remained divided. Internal peace and order and the creative genius and industry of the French enriched the country very greatly and led to the rapid increase of its population. France became indeed *La Grande Nation*.

The Duc de Sully, the great Minister of Henri Quatre, wrote in his memoirs that France was naturally destined to rule the world, because the country vastly exceeded all other nations in wealth and in the number of inhabitants, and also because France was firmly organized and united, while Germany, Italy, Spain and Muscovy were divided against themselves. Although France felt able to rule by force of arms, she wished to use her power, not for conquest, but for firmly establishing the peace of the world. Henri Quatre and his great Minister drew up the Great Design, whereby a European *Areopagus* was to be created which would abolish war. However, the world was not ready to be ruled by a league of nations. The present League of Nations curiously resembles that which French idealism proposed more than three centuries ago. Having defeated Austria, which fought France for the mastery of the world, the French meant to create a great European confederation of fifteen States, a Christian republic, and the world's government was to be directed by a General Council of sixty Deputies representing these States, who were to be re-appointed every three years.

The policy of creating order, good government and unity in France and of developing its culture, civilization and economic resources was carried on by Richelieu, Mazzarin, Colbert and other eminent Ministers. Henri Quatre was a man of great ability and was at the same time a man of character. His Minister Sully worked hand in hand with him. King and Minister stood very much in the same relation as William I. of Germany and Bismarck. Unfortunately the murdered Henri was succeeded by a number of weak, vain and incapable sovereigns who were served by statesmen and administrators of extraordinary capacity, and the result was that

the Government fell into the hands of able and ambitious men who carried with them King and country exactly as did the rulers of Germany after Bismarck's dismissal. Hence the wise and moderate policy of France pursued in the time of Henri Quatre and Sully was abandoned. Its place was taken by a policy of aggression and of domestic violence, accompanied by the squandering of the national resources for which the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. were noteworthy.

Since the time of Louis XIV., who died in 1715 and who came to the throne in 1643 as a child $4\frac{1}{2}$ years old, the position of France in the world has changed in the most extraordinary manner. France is no longer by far the richest and by far the most populous State in the world. A united Germany, a united Italy, have arisen. A great nation has sprung from a few tiny settlements on the American coast. A huge Russian State, stretching from the borders of Germany to Bering Strait, has taken the place of savage tribes. The extraordinary change in the position of France may best be visualized by comparing the development of population in England and France since 1700, since when fairly reliable data are available.

At the time of Louis XIV. France had from three to four times as many inhabitants as England and Wales. Since then the French people have doubled, the people of the United Kingdom have increased sixfold in number and populous British dominions have arisen overseas. Louis XIV. was amazed that a small and poor country like England dared to challenge and to fight him. Since then the position of the two countries has been completely reversed, and the position of France toward other States has changed in a similar way to her disadvantage. The detractors of France readily assert that France has fallen from her high estate through the aggressiveness of the French, through the wars of Louis XIV., Louis XV. and Napoleon, through the selfishness of the French people who are restricting their offspring and through their incapacity in administration and modern business. These charges are scarcely correct.

The rapid rise of England, Germany and

the United States to eminence and the extraordinary advance of Russia and of various other countries are principally due to the industrial revolution, to the invention of the steam engine, the railway, modern steel production and the like. Providence has taken the old predominance from France. Modern industry and transport are based upon coal. Unfortunately France possesses very little coal, and the trifling quantity she has cannot be raised cheaply because it occurs in very thin and very irregular seams. The rapid progress in wealth, population and power of the Anglo-Saxon nations and of Germany is due to the fact that they possess more than three-fourths of the world's coal. In 1913 the United States, Great Britain, Germany and France compared as follows as regards their coal resources.

France has considerably less coal than the Republic of Colombia, than the Transvaal, than Queensland. Consequently she is not able to exploit her iron deposits in an adequate manner. In Great Britain, in Germany and even in the United States the population has increased principally in the industrial and commercial districts, in

CHANGES IN POPULATION

Population of England and Wales.	Population of France.
1700.... 6,045,008	1700.... 19,669,322
1760.... 6,479,730	1762.... 21,769,163
1780.... 7,814,827	1784.... 24,800,000
1801.... 8,872,980	1801.... 27,500,000
1811.... 10,163,676	1811.... 29,350,000
1821.... 11,987,875	1821.... 30,450,000
1831.... 13,894,574	1831.... 32,570,000
1841.... 16,011,757	1841.... 34,230,000
1851.... 17,914,768	1851.... 35,800,000
1861.... 20,060,925	1861.... 37,390,000
1871.... 22,704,108	1871.... 36,190,000
1881.... 25,974,439	1881.... 37,590,000
1891.... 29,001,018	1891.... 38,350,000
1901.... 32,527,843	1901.... 38,980,000
1911.... 36,070,492	1911.... 39,528,000
1921.... 37,885,242	1921.... 39,402,739

THE COAL RESOURCES

	Tons.
United States	3,838,657,000,000
Germany	423,356,000,000
United Kingdom	189,535,000,000
France	17,583,000,000

the districts on or near the coal fields, and their advance is due to the rise of modern methods of manufacturing. It will be noticed that during the last century the population of densely inhabited but highly industrialized England and Wales has quadrupled, while the population of less closely inhabited but principally agricultural France has increased only by 30 per cent.

After all, resources determine population. As long as Europe lived chiefly by agriculture and as long as the interior of large countries, such as Russia and the United States, was inaccessible, France was the richest and the most populous country in the world. Her handicraft industries were highly developed. Modern invention developed resources which Providence had given rather to other nations than to France, and even her agriculture became less productive than that of Germany, because all North Germany is a gigantic plain which can easily be worked by modern machinery, while the bulk of France is mountainous or hilly. Besides, Germany is opened by a large number of navigable rivers, while the French waterways are turbulent and not easily regulatable.

France's advance received a serious check not only through the arrival of the age of steam and steel, but also through the Franco-German war of 1870-71. The effect of that war upon France's population may be seen from the following table.

The rapid increase of Germany's population took place after the victorious war of 1870-71, which gave to Germany the huge iron-ore deposits of Alsace-Lorraine

and which led to a rapid expansion of German industry and trade based upon the exploitation of the huge German coal fields. Between 1816 and 1870 France's population increased by about 30 per cent. During the forty years following the war it increased by less than 10 per cent. The great war debt and the German indemnity, together with vast military expenditure needed to protect France in case of a German attack, weighed down French industry and commerce, and unprecedentedly high taxes caused Frenchmen to restrict their families. The financial burden of military preparedness was approximately equally heavy in Germany and in France, but naturally 60,000,000 Germans with rapidly expanding manufacturing industries could bear it more easily than 40,000,000 Frenchmen living principally by agriculture and weighed down with a great war debt.

Louis XIV. and his predecessors had destroyed the worst excrescences of medieval feudalism and had created a centralized State, but they had not succeeded in creating an administrative apparatus on the Roman model or in accordance with modern usage. The administration, military commands and the like were given to the nobles. Taxes were farmed out to the highest bidders, who arbitrarily imposed and collected them. Unjust local privileges of the nobility and the Church remained. The majority of the peasants were left without land. Political dissatisfaction and distress led to the revolution which began in 1789. The power of the privileged classes was destroyed and the huge land holdings of the nobility and of the Church were given to the peasants. The dream of the French peasantry of owning their land which they had cherished for centuries was at last fulfilled, and they hoped to enjoy the peaceful use of their property.

However, the monarchical States of Europe wished to overthrow the French Republic. Their armies invaded France, and the peasants flew to arms in defense of their newly obtained farms, and defeated the invaders. Distress fell upon the country in consequence of the social and economic dislocation caused by the Revolution and owing to reckless note printing and

FRENCH AND GERMAN POPULATION

Year.	Germany within the limits of the Empire.	France (since 1871, without Alsace- Lorraine).
1816.....	24,833,000	29,480,000
1830.....	29,520,000	32,370,000
1850.....	35,397,000	35,630,000
1870.....	40,818,000	38,440,000
1871.....	40,997,000	36,190,000
1881.....	45,421,000	37,590,000
1891.....	49,762,000	38,350,000
1901.....	56,874,000	38,980,000
1911.....	65,359,000	39,602,000

consequent financial troubles. Napoleon seized the reins and obtained easily recruits among the starving people of France and among the nations he defeated. The bulk of his armies consisted of foreigners, and his troops lived on the countries which they overran. Thus he popularized warfare. He gave France internal peace and order, regulated the national finances, created countless roads and public works and established a powerful administration, organizing the country on the model of ancient Rome and converting it into a firmly knitted empire which could easily be ruled by one man.

The French Revolution, which gave the land to those who cultivated it, completely changed the character of the French. As long as the majority of the inhabitants were landless and poor, oppressed and unhappy, they willingly supported a policy of war and of adventure. When the restless people of France had become freeholders they became the most conservative and the most peaceful people in the world. They watched with indifference the defeat and overthrow of Napoleon. When the allied armies invaded France in 1814 and 1815 the peasants did not take arms against them, as they had done twenty years before, but greeted them with jubilation. Napoleon III., profoundly misunderstanding the true character of the French, embarked upon a policy of conquest and glory, and he would have lost his throne even if the war with Germany had not occurred. He was anxious for a great war in order to strengthen the tottering monarchy against the dissatisfied people.

Although many eminent Frenchmen, especially poets and journalists, preached a policy of revenge after 1871 the French Republic was peaceful. The vast majority of Frenchmen of every station did not dream of a war with Germany. At the same time they were determined to fight to the last should war be forced upon them, for they were aware that another defeat by Germany would mean France's disappearance as a great power. During the forty years following Germany's victory another German war had been their nightmare. They had been ground down by exceedingly oppressive taxation, and

from year to year their position had become more precarious, in view of their stagnant population and stagnant wealth and in view of Germany's rapidly increasing numbers and strength. In 1914 the French went to war not for glory and renown, as they had done in the time of Louis XIV. and Napoleon I., but they took arms determined that they would obtain peace and security for decades if not for all time and be secure from German aggression. These views upheld them at the darkest hour and dictated their policy after the victory.

GERMANY OUTGROWING FRANCE

During the years preceding the war France's population was absolutely stationary. The trifling increase shown by the statistics was due exclusively to the immigration of Italian and other laborers. Meanwhile Germany's population increased by 800,000 per year, because of the larger resources of the country. Fearing that they would be swamped in a decade or two by a Germany having two or three times the population of France, the French wished to weaken Germany either by reducing her territories and resources or by creating a counterpoise to Germany. That was the obvious solution of the difficulty, and the idea of re-creating Poland furnished the easiest and the most logical way out. After all there was not only the danger of a vastly increased German population overwhelming France at some future date, but there was the additional danger of Germany and Russia uniting against France. An independent Polish State would not only be France's natural ally against Germany, but would separate Germany from Russia and prevent their union against the French.

Nations may be ruined not only by defeat in war, but also by economic decay. France with her small population was left with a gigantic war debt, and in addition the bulk of her coal mines and her most important industrial districts had been completely and deliberately ruined by the Germans. The French had been promised reparations by the Allies. According to the Peace Treaty Germany was to pay for the rebuilding of France. However, Germany has furnished excuses and explana-

tions, but has paid only the merest trifle. According to the latest official figures Germany has paid hitherto to France in cash and in kind, on account of both reparations and of the cost of maintaining the troops of occupation, 1,595,000,000 gold marks, which is equivalent to 4,000,000,000 paper francs at the present rate of exchange. Meanwhile France has paid 90,000,000,000 francs for repairing devastation, and huge additional sums will be required. In other words, Germany has paid one year's interest on France's reparation outlay.

The financial position of France is becoming a desperate one. Her war burden is approximately equal to that of England, allowing for the difference in population and resources. In addition to the gigantic war debt, France must assume a similarly heavy load on account of reparations. Lastly, France has lent colossal sums to her allies during the war, especially to Russia, and her pre-war loans to that country exceed £1,000,000,000. The financial loss is falling not on a few rich men, but on the people in general, because France is a nation of investors. More than 1,600,000 Frenchmen invested money in Russian securities previous to the war. The facts given explain why France insists upon reparations from Germany and upon payment from Russia. These demands spring not from chauvinism, but from the instinct of self-preservation. Germany is twice as

rich as France and is undoubtedly able to pay, but is unwilling.

France fought the greatest war in her history in the determination to conquer a lasting peace, not in the hope of conquering territory. Having been invaded so often she demanded the Rhine frontier, which would give her security, but the Allies opposed her wishes. Furthermore, the Allies whittled down the sum total of reparations payable by Germany and encouraged German resistance and financial mismanagement by their attitude. The result has been that the French doubted the friendship of England and of Italy, and began to believe that the two countries were working for France's ruin. That thought and the determined resistance of Germany to disarmament and to the payment of reparations, together with the dread that Germany and Russia combined might crush Poland and then attack France, caused the French to retain large military and naval forces.

In France it is becoming more and more strongly believed that Germany will pay reparations only if compelled by the seizure of valuable guarantees, such as the Ruhr coal field. Moreover, there is at present no security against a monarchical counter-revolution. Altogether the outlook is too unsettled and too dangerous to allow France to disarm. She does not wish to be caught unprepared, especially as England has reduced her forces to such an extent that she can give but little help to France in an emergency.

INCREASING CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

AMERICANS who deny that these United States are being engulfed in a wave of materialism will find comfort in figures given by Walter Laidlaw, Registrar of the Clergy Club and a special agent of the Census Department at Washington, in an article published recently in New York. These figures show a decided increase in church membership between the years 1906 and 1916. The following data are interesting:

In 1906, when the nation numbered 86,646,370 persons, the membership of re-

ligious bodies was 35,068,058, or 40.4 per cent. On Dec. 31, 1916, the nation numbered 101,464,014 persons, and the membership of religious bodies had risen to 41,926,854, or 41.3 per cent. The membership of religious bodies on Dec. 31, 1921, was 46,059,500, an increase of 4,132,646 in five years. The nation at the same date, at the rate of increase of the census period 1910 to 1920, numbered 107,132,678 persons. The membership of religious bodies, as nearly as can be calculated, was over 42 per cent.

THE VATICAN AND THE NEW WORLD

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

A study of the policies of the Roman Catholic Church in the new Europe created by the war—Its ambitions in Russia and the Near East—Reasons for opposing the British mandate in Palestine

DESPITE the materialism of the present age, the influence of religion on political and social life cannot be ignored. It is a factor which has delayed the solution of the Irish problem; which has literally created the question of Zionism; which has been the key to the mutterings of the colored races in Asia and Africa. It has entered into the Japanese question where the teachings of Shintoism and Emperor worship aroused the fears of the Western world. Its touch has been felt in Greece, where the Government recently attempted to drive Meletius IV., the Patriarch of the Greek Church, into exile because of his friendship with Venizelos.

Of all the religious sects in the world today, undoubtedly the most interesting from the political standpoint is the Roman Catholic Church. Claiming a total membership of 288,000,000, it is an international organization with an absolutist form of government, which, in the not distant past, wielded more power than any monarchy or any Government of the present age. Until 1870 the Pope ruled over territory much the same as any other king. His domain was certain Papal States in Italy, originally bestowed upon him in the eighth and ninth centuries by King Pepin and the Emperor Charlemagne. But the Pope's influence was not limited to this temporal power. It soon extended throughout the whole of Christendom. Practically every king during the Middle Ages became a sworn vassal of the Pope; even England became a fief of the Holy See under King John. When Henry IV., the German Emperor, challenged the right of the Pope to consecrate Bishops within his kingdom, he was forced to do three days' penance in the snow at Canossa—an act which alone saved him from losing his throne.

This vast power of the Vatican, which reached its height about 1500, was soon to be weakened. Eastern Christians, originally under the leadership of the Patriarch of Constantinople, denied that the Pope was the successor of Saint Peter, and they also refused to accept in full the doctrines and the ritual of the Church at Rome. Eventually this "Orthodox" Church, as it came to be called, divided itself into three branches, one of which has remained under the Patriarch at Constantinople; the second has become the Greek Church, ruled by the Holy Synod of Greece; and the third has become the Russian Orthodox Church, governed by the Holy Synod which up until 1917 was under the absolute control of the Czar. In addition, national Orthodox churches came to be established in Rumania, Serbia and Bulgaria.

Despite these divisions, the Orthodox Church is spiritually supreme throughout Russia and part of Central Europe, the Balkans and Asia Minor. Orthodoxy has therefore made Russia the enemy of Rome. Since the time of Peter the Great, the Roman and the Russian Churches have bitterly contended with each other—a fact which explains why the Vatican should oppose the advances of Pan-Slavism in the Balkans and toward Constantinople.

In order to offset these advances the Holy See followed two policies before the war. The first was the encouragement of the so-called Uniat churches in Russia, especially in the Ukraine and in Poland. Despite the fact that they follow the Orthodox rites and a Slav liturgy, these churches are not under the control of the Russian Patriarch and Holy Synod. Instead, they worship certain Latin saints and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope at Rome. Consequently, they have formed a nucleus of Roman propaganda

which, it was hoped, might seep into Russia proper.

Secondly, the Vatican warred against Orthodoxy by forming a virtual alliance with Austria-Hungary—*la politique eu-charistique*—as a result of which the Hapsburg Empire opposed the advances of Russia into the Balkans and the Turkish Empire. All its officials professed the Catholic faith, and its schools taught Catholic doctrines. Monasteries and religious orders flourished. In return for these privileges the Catholic clergy was obliged to support the Magyar minority in its rule over non-German peoples. Political duties were expected of priests, and when the European war broke out they were forced into propaganda work. The Emperor of Austria, moreover, possessed the right of veto in Papal elections, which was exercised in 1903 to prevent the election of Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro as Pope, because of his pro-French sympathies.

LOSS OF TEMPORAL POWER

In addition to Russian Orthodoxy, the second great cause for the political decline of the Vatican before the war was the growth of nationalism and democracy in Catholic countries, notably Italy and France. On Sept. 19, 1870, King Victor Emmanuel asked Pope Pius IX. to surrender his temporal power over Rome in order that it might become the capital of a united Italy. When, at the Pope's refusal to comply with this request, troops successfully stormed the city, His Holiness shut himself up in the Vatican, which he never left. Torn between a desire to conciliate the great moral power of the Vatican over its followers throughout the world and the necessities of national unity, the Italian Government enacted, in May, 1871, the Law of Guarantees. It was the purpose of this law to safeguard the Pope in the exercise of his spiritual powers. He has the unrestricted right of communicating with his bishops abroad; he may have his own post and telegraph offices. His person is inviolable. He has his own guards. He may receive Ministers from foreign states. He may freely use the Vatican, the Lateran palaces and the villa of Castel Gandolfo. Moreover, the Italian Government annually places at his disposal the sum of \$645,000 to cover the expenses

of the Vatican—a sum which no Pope has yet been willing to accept.

Shorn of territory and of subjects, Pius IX. refused to recognize the legality of what he regarded as a modern Sack of Rome, and he considered himself to be a prisoner in the Vatican. A Pope whose temper had been illustrated a few years before when he caused a Church Council to enunciate the doctrines of Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception, he now issued an encyclical in which he repudiated the Law of Guarantees, and called on Catholic princes to aid in the restoration of the temporal power. Catholic sovereigns were forbidden to visit the King of Italy, whose existence the Vatican would not recognize. And the famous decree, *Non Expedit*, was issued, declaring that it would be "inexpedient" for Catholics to vote in Italian national elections.

When the liberal-minded Leo XIII. became Pope in 1878, many believed that this situation would be relieved. But, contrary to the expectations, Leo asserted that Rome was not large enough to hold a King and a Pope, and it is believed that he entered into negotiations with Bismarck to move the Vatican to Germany. Pius X., who succeeded Leo in 1903, also revived the question of temporal power when he expressed anger at President Loubet's visit to the King of Italy, and when, at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the kingdom in 1911, he declared that the occasion should be considered by Catholics as one "of deepest mourning." Finally realizing that the restoration of the Papal States was impossible, at least for the time being, Pius X. also brought forward the idea of internationalizing the Law of Guarantees. Instead of having the position of the Papacy guaranteed by Italy alone, he would have it guaranteed by all Catholic powers collectively, thus giving the Vatican an international recognition and removing it from the exclusive jurisdiction of Italy. This suggestion the Italian Government consistently opposed, because it considered the Roman question to be purely domestic in character.

THE BREAK WITH FRANCE

It was during the reign of Pius X. that the Vatican was to receive another blow—and this from a nation formerly called

the First-Born Son of the Church. Despite early quarrels between French Kings and Rome, of which the Château des Papes at Avignon today remains a desolate symbol, French Governments were devoutly Catholic. Even during the French Revolution a diplomatic representative was maintained at Rome. In 1801 Napoleon I. negotiated the Concordat, in which the French Government undertook to pay the salaries of the Catholic clergy, in return for which it received the right to appoint the Bishops and Archbishops of the Church. Napoleon III. virtually owed his throne to the French Clericals, whom he rewarded by maintaining troops at the Vatican, which delayed until 1870 the unification of Italy; by vigorously defending Catholic interests in Syria, and by becoming the protector of Catholic missions in China.

But friction between the Church and France arose after the fall of Napoleon III. in 1870. At this time the Catholic Party in France attempted to place the Comte de Chambord on a throne pledged to the restoration of the Pope's temporal power. Defeated in this attempt by the establishment of the Third Republic, the Catholic Party nevertheless continued its demands for a monarchy and its opposition to Republican "free-thinking" institutions. Republican France naturally feared the Vatican, which, a few years previously, had brought pressure to bear in other countries to prevent the establishment of representative institutions, and had pronounced null and void the Austrian Constitution of 1867, since it was "abominable" and "unspeakable."

Because of the wisdom of Pope Leo XIII. the storm between these diametrically opposed forces did not break for many years. In 1892 the Pope issued his famous encyclical urging French Catholics to "rally" to the republic. But his admonition did little good, as the Dreyfus army scandal was soon to prove. Catholic orders and "associations," many of which were controlled by foreign priests, directed the education of French Catholic children; and naturally it was suspected that the instruction was "anti-republican." Consequently, in 1901 the French Parliament passed the Law of Associations, which provided that no religious order could exist in France without the authorization of

Parliament. In 1904 President Loubet violated the wishes of Pius X. by returning the visit which the King of Italy had made to Paris the year before. As a result of this incident the diplomatic representatives of Paris and the Vatican were mutually withdrawn, and Parliament passed the laws of 1905 and 1907 abrogating the old Concordat of 1801, and separating Church and State. Thus when Pope Pius X. died in August, 1914, the Vatican found itself fighting for spiritual supremacy with the Orthodox Church and with Protestantism generally, shorn of its temporal power in Italy, and deprived of the financial support and even the diplomatic recognition of France.

THE VATICAN AND THE WAR

When the European War broke out the interests of the Vatican were still further menaced. A victory for the Allies would result in the occupation of Constantinople by Russia and the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, both of which meant the triumphant advance of Orthodoxy. The delicacy of this situation was recognized by the Conclave of Cardinals, who met in Rome to elect a new Pope in the Fall of 1914. With the end in view of selecting a "political" Pope who would meet this situation and generally revive the drooping prestige of the Church, they selected Benedict XV. His "political" policy was immediately shown by his failure to condemn the violation of Belgium's neutrality and the other outrages of the war, and by his first encyclical, in which he fiercely attacked Modernism and expressed the "desire for the cessation of that abnormal condition in which the head of the Church finds himself"—a demand for the restoration of the temporal power. It is reported that the envoys of the Central Powers at the Vatican, seizing upon this demand, promised that the temporal power would be restored at the end of the war, or, if this should prove impossible, that the Law of Guarantees would be internationalized. Whether animated by this promise or purely by anti-Russianism, the Vatican brought pressure to bear to prevent the entrance of Italy into the war, even going so far as to institute negotiations to secure an asylum for the Pope in Spain. In the light of these facts, it is

not unnatural that Italy should insist, as she did in the secret treaty of London in 1915, that, when the war ended, the Pope be excluded from the Peace Conference.

But, despite the original fears of the Vatican, the outcome of the war strangely strengthened its position. The Orthodox Church, as a contender with Rome, was destroyed by the Russian revolution of November, 1917. It was not only disestablished by the Soviet Government, but it was subject to persecutions, which culminated in the arrest in May, 1922, of the Most Rev. Dr. Tikhon, Patriarch of all Russia, because of his attitude toward the requisition of church treasures.* Consequently, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire—the Vatican's bulwark against Pan-Slavism—became of little immediate importance. At the same time, the Vatican was not slow to entrench itself in the new States created out of the remains of the empire. On Nov. 8, 1918, the Pope instructed his Nuncio at Vienna to enter into friendly relations with these various nationalities. The success of this policy was shown by the dispatch of diplomatic representatives to Rome from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Finland, Esthonia, Ukrainia, Lithuania, and even Greece. In 1913 there were only fourteen nations represented at the Vatican and five Papal Nuncios abroad; but in 1922 twenty-five nations are represented there and twenty-five Nuncios are abroad.

Likewise, in Poland the Vatican has probably gained more than it has lost by the disruption of the Hapsburg Empire. It was the Catholic clergy who had kept alive the spirit of independence in Poland since the partitions of the eighteenth century. And their diligence was rewarded by the establishment of Catholicism as a State religion in Poland; in February,

1919, the Polish Diet was opened in the Cathedral at Warsaw.

GROWTH OF PAPAL PRESTIGE

There are many other indications of the growing prestige of Rome. The creation of the Irish Free State as well as an independent Poland is indirectly a result of Catholic influence. Protestant England now maintains a diplomatic representative at the Vatican, and, for the first time since the Reformation, has permitted a Catholic procession in London at the canonization of Joan of Arc. The old Minister of Prussia at the Holy See has been transformed into an Ambassador from the new German Republic. Switzerland has dispatched an official to Rome, the first one since 1874. Even Japan has entered into negotiations with the Vatican in regard to the Catholic missions in the islands of the Pacific. But of greater importance are three other developments of the last few months, which will still further strengthen the Holy See throughout the world.

Chief among these has been the partial reconciliation of the Church with France. Between 1904 and 1920 the French Government simply ignored the existence of the Vatican; diplomatic relations were suspended. This policy not only injured Rome, but it worked against the best interests of the Third Republic. Catholics remained hostile to the Republican régime. During the war the absence of French diplomats from the Vatican—which a French Senator has recently called the "observatory" of international politics—left the envoys of the Central Powers a free hand. The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France in 1918 also complicated matters. While under German control, the religious life of these provinces had been governed by a Concordat, which made a representative at the Vatican a necessity. France, consequently, was forced either to denounce this Concordat or establish some contact with Rome. But she could not denounce it without offending the 1,400,000 Catholics in Alsace-Lorraine. As a result the Government sent Denys Cochin on a private mission to Benedict XV. as early as July, 1918; and in April of the following year France was treated to the very humorous spectacle of Georges Clemenceau—a notorious free thinker—

* These treasures were confiscated in order to apply their proceeds to relief work in the famine districts. The decrees were condemned by the Patriarch Tikhon; but he nevertheless advised the clergy to give up valuables which were not actually used in church services. This advice divided the Russian clergy into two camps, one which followed the Patriarch's advice and the other which refused to give up any treasures whatever. These decrees were carried into execution in March, 1922, by local Government commissions which made inventories of church valuables. In some places the clergy offered violent resistance, which led the Government to declare that a small clerical clique—in league with the counter-revolutionaries—was the cause of all the trouble.

appointing the Catholic Bishops of Metz and Strassburg! Moreover, the influence of France over Poland and the new States of Central Europe—the control of which has become the fundamental principle of French foreign policy—might be damaged if France should continue to remain aloof from Rome. Likewise, her interests in Syria, where the Brothers of Christian Doctrine and other orders carried on works of religion and education, were being injured, so it is alleged, by advantages given by the Vatican to the clergy of other nations.

These various considerations finally succeeded in bringing France officially back into the Catholic fold. In July, 1919, M. Viviani declared in the Chamber of Deputies that France should send a diplomatic representative to the Vatican, a wish which was expressed also by M. Millerand in the election campaign of the same year. Such a change in policy, it was expressly stated, would not alter the separation régime or re-establish Catholicism as the State religion. But it would be a recognition of the existence of the Vatican and of the great moral influence which it exercises throughout the world. In November, 1920, the French Chamber voted a bill appropriating credits to establish an embassy at the Holy See. But the Senate, influenced by anti-clerical radicals, held up the bill for more than a year. Fretful at this delay, the Briand Ministry dispatched M. Charles Jonnart as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Vatican in May, 1921. Upon his return from the Washington conference M. Briand demanded that the Senate ratify this action, because of reasons of foreign policy. His plea was so effective that in December, 1921, the Senate passed the bill. After a lapse of fifteen years France again recognized Rome.

RECONCILIATION WITH ITALY

In the next place, steps have been taken toward the reconciliation of the Vatican with Italy. For all practical purposes, the *non expedit* decree has become a dead letter. Catholics not only vote in elections, but they have formed a Catholic Party which, in co-operation with the Socialists, was strong enough, in May and June, 1920, to drive the Nitti Cabinet out

of power. When in office Premier Nitti engaged in informal conversations with Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State. In the latter part of May, 1920, Pope Benedict XV. issued an encyclical, *Pacem Dei munus pulcherrimum*, which abrogated the rule that prevented Catholic sovereigns from visiting the King of Italy. Such papers as the *Corriere del Parlamento* and the *Gazetta del Popolo* advocate a definite agreement with the Vatican, if for no other reason than to offset the advantage which France now has over Italy there. When Achille Ratti became Pope Pius XI. in February, 1922, he blessed the people from the outside balcony of Saint Peter's—the first time a Pope had done this since the destruction of the temporal power. It is reported that the Pope hereafter may take part in Catholic processions in the city. These incidents by no means constitute a recognition by the Holy See of the Law of Guarantees or of its loss of temporal power. Apparently the minimum which the Vatican will accept in this respect is the internationalization of its status. Nevertheless, these developments do indicate the existence of better feeling between the Braschi Palace and Saint Peter's; they certainly constitute a recognition by the Pope of the Kingdom of Italy; and they dispell the myth that he is a prisoner within the Vatican walls.

Finally, the Catholic Church is attempting to bring about the union of the Orthodox church with Rome. Both Pope Benedict XV. and the present Pope, Pius XI., have encouraged the development of Uniat Churches with this end in view, whether in central Europe or in Syria and Chaldea. In May, 1919, Benedict established a special Congregation for the Churches of the Orient. Later he created at Rome a Pontifical Institute for the study of Eastern affairs, to which were invited priests from the Orthodox and Uniat churches of the East. In 1920 he publicly expressed the hope that these separated churches would soon recognize the Rock upon which the Church is founded. In pursuing this policy, the Vatican is not attempting to wipe out the national traditions of these different churches; it does not treat them as heretics, but merely as schismatic. It is willing to have them retain their own rituals, whether Latin or not. It asks

merely that they recognize the supremacy of Rome.

So strong has been the desire of the Vatican to make inroads into Orthodox Russia that it has sent its best diplomats to the new States carved out of Russia's southern frontier—the present Pope having been a Nuncio to Poland from 1919 to 1921. At the risk of Polish friendship, Rome has even supported the movement for Ukrainian independence. The Ukraine is a part of southern Russia, and a great number of its inhabitants—the Ruthenes—are Uniat Catholics. It would therefore offer an admirable entry into Russia. In the Summer of 1919 Benedict XV addressed a letter to the outlaw general, Petliura, in which His Holiness recognized the independence of the Ukraine, despite the fact that the Supreme Council of the allied Governments had refused to do so. In June, 1921, the little republic of Latvia was persuaded to sign a Concordat with the Vatican which requires it to furnish the Catholic archbishop with a church and to furnish suitable residences to, and to pay the salaries of, a number of Catholic officials—all this in a country where there are only 375,000 Roman Catholics to 138,000 Greek Catholics and nearly a million Lutherans.

THE VATICAN AND PALESTINE

Another evidence of the attempt which Rome is making to establish its spiritual sovereignty over the Eastern Churches has been revealed in the recent protests of the Vatican, first to the League of Nations, and then to the Genoa Conference, against the terms of the British mandate over Palestine. It will be remembered that in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 Great Britain promised that a "national home" would be established for the Jews in Palestine at the end of the war. This pledge was fulfilled, partially at least, at the meeting of the Supreme Council at San Remo in 1920, where the terms of the mandate under which Great Britain is to establish this "national home" were drawn up.

To every Christian, Palestine is a land of sacred memories. Thousands of devout Pilgrims—most of whom are Catholics—annually journey to worship at its Holy Places, the most important of which are the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem

and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. When Palestine was under Turkish control, religious toleration was the rule. But the Vatican feels that the very idea of Zionism will prejudice Gentile interests there, and the Pope protested, in June, 1921, against the "privileged position enjoyed by the Jews, which is dangerous to Christians."

Officially, the Vatican has objected to the terms of the British mandate which provide that the Administration shall facilitate Jewish immigration and encourage the close settlement of Jews on public land; which recognize the Zionist organization as the "appropriate Jewish agency" to work with the British in establishing their national home; and which provide for the establishment of a special commission to settle all religious claims, especially in regard to the Holy Places.

Ostensibly the Vatican has protested against this mandate on the ground that it will prejudice Catholic interests. But to a disinterested person the restrictions imposed by this mandate should set aside any such fears. While recognizing the principle of Zionism, the mandate text expressly says: "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The commission referred to must see to it that "certain holy places, religious buildings or sites, regarded with special veneration by the adherents of one particular religion, are entrusted to the permanent control of suitable bodies representing the adherents of the religion concerned." No interference with missionary enterprise in Palestine shall be tolerated, and freedom of conscience and of worship is guaranteed by the mandatary. England has learned a hard lesson in religious toleration from Catholic Ireland, French Quebec, Hindu India and Moslem Egypt. As Earl Balfour declared to the Council of the League of Nations on May 17, 1922, "I confess to feeling * * * surprise that any human being should suppose that Christian interests should suffer by the transfer of power in Palestine from a Mohammedan to a Christian power." And he added, "We are a Protestant country, but I boldly say that I do not believe that in any country—Protestant or Catholic—

has the Catholic religion received fairer or more generous treatment than it has within the British Isles."

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

In its protest against the Palestine mandate, the Vatican has been interested, not so much in securing fair treatment for Catholics, as in reasserting its past claims to the Holy Land. For five centuries the Greek and Roman churches struggled for the guardianship of the sacred places of Palestine. And until recently the Greek Church has usually held the upper hand. A dispute over the control of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the immediate cause of the Crimean War of 1854. But that contest solved nothing, and the struggle for religious supremacy in Palestine continued down until the outbreak of the World War. And it was always more than a religious struggle, itself marred by incessant and unchristian brawls. It was also political. Behind the Orthodox Church has loomed Pan-Slavism; behind Roman Catholicism has loomed Rome; behind Protestantism has loomed Germany, as the visit of the Kaiser to the Holy Land in 1898 proved.

When the Soviet Government came into power, the Orthodox church lost a valuable ally. The unchallenged supremacy of the Vatican over Christian interests in Palestine now became really possible. Once entrenched at the fountain-head of Christianity, the Vatican could influence, more strongly than ever, the schismatic churches of the East to acknowledge papal leadership.

But the secular diplomats of Europe have now interposed two obstacles in the way of realizing Rome's dream. The first is the British mandate over Palestine—which means the control of the Holy Places by a Protestant power. By this means the religious quarrels of the past will be settled, but Great Britain will be responsible for maintaining religious freedom *solely* to the League of Nations. The chairman of the commission to settle religious claims is also appointed by the League. In both cases, the Vatican is simply ignored. The second obstacle is Zionism, which by its very nature means special privileges to the Hebrew faith, Catholic antipathy toward which has often vio-

lently vented itself in the pogroms of Poland and of Central Europe.

If the Vatican were alone in making its protest it would probably be of no avail. But it has been joined by France and Italy, who have withheld their approval of the Palestine mandate.* This support is very significant, because it arises out of the reconciliation between Rome and these two semi-Catholic powers. Moreover, the interests of France in the Near East coincide with those of Rome. Beginning in 1535 France has been the protector of Christians in the Orient, a position which has been repeatedly recognized not only by Sultans but also by Popes. This position has been maintained, despite the rupture of 1904. In fact, when France was upholding most vigorously the interests of Catholic missionaries in Syria, she was attacking the Church most bitterly at home. In the midst of the anti-clerical crisis in France, Italy recognized the French guardianship of Catholics in the Holy Land by agreements signed in July, 1906, and in January, 1907. A British mandate over Palestine deprives France of this historic position, which has been of great political and economic value. No one can foresee the eventual outcome of this dispute, in which the Vatican, the Arabs and the French have joined hands against Zionism and Great Britain. Christians usually fight more bitterly between themselves over matters of religion than they do against the infidel. And it is not unlikely that the Palestine mandate will cause another rift in the so-called "Entente" between France and Britain.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS

During the Genoa conference the boldest move to strengthen the position of Roman Catholicism throughout Russia was made. Here the Vatican negotiated with the Soviets, demanding three things: (1) religious liberty in Russia; (2) the right to give religious education to children; (3) ecclesiastical property. In return for

* Despite an eloquent defense of Zionism by Earl Balfour, the British House of Lords, on June 21, 1922, voted against the Palestine Mandate by 60 to 29. But the House of Commons on July 4 supported it by a vote of 292 to 35, after listening to a vigorous defense of Zionism by Mr. Churchill. The Council of the League of Nations formally approved the mandate for Palestine on July 24, 1922.

these privileges the Vatican would recognize the Soviet Government. Although no Czar would ever give these privileges to Romanism, the Soviets, so it was believed, would have no religious scruples in doing so, especially when recognition by the Pope would tremendously increase their international prestige. Whether these negotiations succeed or not, this policy of dealing with the Soviet Government will not probably bring about the conversion of the Orthodox Church to Roman Catholicism. The most influential communicants of the former Church are Russian *émigrés*, who will resent bitterly all dealings between Rome and the Soviets. Moreover, such a policy on the part of the Vatican has already made delicate its relations with the Clerical Party in France—the chief element which has prevented the rapprochement of the Quai d'Orsay and Petrograd. Even the letter of Pius XI. to Cardinal Gasparri, expressing the hope that every nation would make the necessary sacrifices to make the Genoa conference a success, brought forth the protest of such a clerically inclined paper as the *Journal des Débats*. Other French publicists charge that the Vatican is now trying

to profit by the Treaty of Rapallo, which gives Germans the right to enter Russia in order to trade, so that German priests will be able to enter for purposes of religious propaganda.

Although the Vatican is not likely to succeed in proselyting Russia, its gains made elsewhere within the last few years go far toward restoring the prestige it held throughout Europe before 1870. In making these new gains the Vatican has been obliged to surrender many of its former aspirations and ideals. Apparently it is reconciled to the separation of Church and State throughout the world. It may have recognized the force of Tocqueville's remark: "In forming an alliance with a political power, religion augments its authority over a few and forfeits the hope of reigning over all." Certainly the Vatican has given up its historic attachment to the principle of monarchy and has now accepted the republican régime. This change in policy makes Rome much less of a political problem than it was in the days of Leo XII. and Pius IX. Nevertheless, its present activities in a more spiritual and propagandist sphere constitute a challenge to Protestantism which it cannot afford to ignore.

FIRE LOSSES OF A SINGLE YEAR

FIRE losses in the United States during 1921 totaled \$485,000,000, according to a statement issued on May 26, 1922, by John B. Morton, President of the National Board of Fire Underwriters, at the fifty-sixth annual meeting of that organization. The figures given by him showed that in those twelve months every man, woman and child in this country lost \$4.47 by needless fires and that the nation lost \$1,400,000 a day. The increase over 1920 was \$38,000,000. Incendiarism and arson are on the increase, said the report. A large number of what are known as "business fires" were attributed to business failure and economic depression. The committee's staff investigated 832 fires, in connection with which 368 arrests were made. Of 210 cases brought to trial there were

159 convictions. Investigation of 1,783 suspicious fires in the last five years has led to the conviction of 2,500 persons for deliberate arson. "American fire waste is excessive in amount and disastrous in its results," said President Morton in his address. "It costs millions of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars each year; it drains resources, retards industry and generally impairs prosperity. What is more deplorable, it is known to be largely preventable. Out of the accumulated carelessness of the American people has grown a fire waste that is seriously retarding our national economic development. America can never be efficient and prosperous in the highest degree until it learns and applies the lessons of conservation and economy."



MGR. MELETIOS
Ecumenical Patriarch
at Phanar, head of
the Greek Orthodox
Community in Turkey

MUSTAPHA KEMAL AND THE CHRISTIANS

[Third article of a series of four presenting inside facts about Turkey, the Angora Government and the condition of affairs under it.]

WE should not have been entering the village on foot through the mud if Ismail had not attempted in the darkness to ford the stream where there was no ford, with the result that he had to be left half a mile behind, stuck with horses and carriages in an icy three-foot current. We finally gained the light and were conducted to the headman's house, a large mud dwelling in which we found a roof over our heads for the night, a great fire of dried dung to warm us without, and steaming glasses of tea to warm us within. One by one the elders of the village called to bid us welcome and to inquire for news of the war. Once the village had been wealthy, for it was very old, having been founded 700 years ago by Turkish refugees fleeing into Asia Minor from the East. * * *

Another night had come down over the rolling steppe, and with it the eternal problem of finding the village. With Ismail walking beside his team, we left the

By CLAIR PRICE

Asia Minor a desolate refuge of suffering millions of many creeds and nationalities—How war has brought a new schism in the Orthodox Patriarchate — Armenia's tragedy

plain and entered a shallow pass. Clinging precariously to the precipitous edge of a dry stream bed, the road wound upward into a silent, towering company of rocks. The tired horses evinced a disposition to wander from the road, and we climbed down, preferring the fag of footing it to the risk of a spill. At length we emerged from the pass. The village—the mere bark of a dog and one, two, three, four distant sparks of light—lay directly ahead of us, and at sight of it a great sense of relief descended upon us. We climbed back into the carriage, and Ismail shouted to the team. The sound of his voice waked every dog in the village to furious barking

—and every light went out instanter. The village had disappeared into the night as completely as if it had never existed; no trace of it remained except the savage chorus of its dogs. But we held on with a great calmness in our hearts until we reached it. Then Nejib climbed down, and the dim figure of a woman appeared in a tall head-dress; apparently the village was Kurdish. She conducted us to the headman's house, Nejib and Ismail fetched our belongings in from the carriage and one by one the elders of the village gathered. Before the wars began there had been 120 men in the village; now only 32 were left. Never had the village been so depopulated, not since it had first been built 250 years ago by a band of Kurdish refugees fleeing up into Asia Minor from the southeast. * * *

TYPICAL REFUGEE VILLAGES

Another night was approaching and we had already picked up the smoke from the village chimneys, although the village houses were still lost chameleon-like in the stony gray of the distant slope on which they lay. The horses were jogging easily along the hard road and Ismail was contentedly droning a driver's song of the plains. We began passing flocks of sheep and goats, fattening for the army. We caught up with and passed a long string of ox carts, squeaking under their weight of munitions. We could pick out more of the village now, a large village with three mosques and a gendarmerie post. A group of children stopped their play as we neared it and conducted us to the house of the headman, who at the moment was at his prayers. He finally came out to meet us in an enormous shaggy kalpak; apparently the village was Circassian. Invited for the night into the warmth of his fireplace, we were served with three glasses of tea, instead of the customary two; it was a Circassian village. One by one the village elders called. It was not an old village, but when it had been founded fourteen years ago by Circassian refugees fleeing down into Asia Minor from the northeast, it had had as many as 250 men. Now only seventy-eight were left. * * *

Asia minor is typified in these three

villages. It is a great medieval House of Refuge, lying at the junction of three continents. For centuries populations and the remnants of populations have poured into it, but at no time in recorded history has this uprooting of peoples reached the appalling dimensions of these last twelve years of continual war. After the Balkan wars 914,000 Turks fled from Europe into Asia Minor. During the Russian advance from the Caucasus early in the great war, 870,000 Turks fled from the eastern provinces into Asia Minor, while 800,000 Armenians and 200,000 Greeks were deported out of Asia Minor into the Arab country to the south. During the Turco-Greek war 350,000 Turks have fled into the interior from Smyrna and its hinterland. Add to these Constantinople's wretched legacy of 90,000 Russians from the Crimea and 60,000 Turks from Thrace and the shores of Marmora, and some idea may be formed of the terrific toll which these twelve tragic years have levied in the Near East. The figures are doubtless open to question, as all Near Eastern figures are apt to be, but they may be taken as roughly indicative of the numbers of dumb driven people who are waiting in the Near East for the wars to end. Incidentally, they may help to correct the impression which exists in the West, that the Armenians and Greeks are the only peoples who have suffered amid the mud and blood of these last twelve years. Today Turks, Greeks, Kurds, Circassians, Tartars, Turcomans, Armenians, Laz and Jews have all alike been reduced to a state of poverty from which it will take Asia Minor generations to recover.

Asia Minor consists of thousands of these isolated villages, quite out of effective touch with any Government which may exist. Only the larger villages have a gendarmerie post, fewer still have a telegraph key to connect them with the provincial capital, and of course most of the country is still without railroads. Many of these lonely villages have never heard of Europe, and such villages as have are quite apt to be uncertain whether Europe is a man or a place. As for America, they know nothing of it and care less. Their knowledge of any outside world which may exist is limited to the provincial capital

under whose administration they are supposed to fall, and to the Sultan and Caliph who rules the universe from his seat in Constantinople. But they have never seen the Sultan nor has his Imperial Majesty ever toured his realm in Asia Minor; how shocked he would be at the spectacle which Asia Minor presents today. Indeed, very few Constantinople Turks have troubled themselves to visit Asia Minor. I recall an editor of a prominent Turkish daily in Constantinople who was born in the capital, who knows more about Texas than most Americans do, but who had never seen the interior of Asia Minor until the British exiled him there in the Spring of 1919. Even today, there are thousands of Constantinople Turks who regard the Government of the Grand National Assembly at Angora with the superior air with which New York City might regard the up-State town of Hickville-in-the-Hay, and who profess to be amused by the fact that Angora goes to bed at sunset and knows nothing of the European habit of dining at 8 P. M. Having sucked its food, its revenue and its army from Asia Minor, Grand Constantinople has counted its duty done.

Yet amid the tangle of peoples in the villages of Asia Minor, the Turkish majority form a race apart—a governing people with a profound self-respect and a sense not only of their own duties but of what is due to them. Their Sultan is a Roman Emperor, the scion of a dynasty which stands alone in the number of great rulers it has produced, and every Turk is a Roman citizen. It is the Turks who made and maintained the old Ottoman Empire, pouring out their blood to hold its frontiers in Europe and the Yemen. They live frugal simple lives, and thousands upon thousands of them have died frugal simple deaths on the far-flung frontiers of the old empire. They live and die in uncomplaining silence, and they are today the most widely unknown of all the great races on earth. Just now, fifty years of growing internal differences and twelve years of war have filled their minds with an acrid smoke of resentment. Suspicions float through their scattered villages like gases through a marsh.

The established faith in their country is Islam and always will be, just as the established faith in England is Christian-

ity and always will be. Their Sultan is Caliph of Islam, although not all Moslems recognize him as such, just as the King of England is Defender of the Faith, although not all Christians recognize him as such.

THE CLEAVAGE OF CREEDS

It is England's good fortune, however, that although its population contains a number of Christian sects besides the established Church of England, it contains no important non-Christian minority except the Jewish minority, which is found in all countries. But in Turkey there are a number of non-Moslem minorities who, in accordance with the tolerance prescribed in the Koran, have been allowed to manage their own affairs in their own way. Although all alike have been Ottoman subjects, non-Moslems have been set apart in their own communities, responsible through their heads in Constantinople to the Minister of Justice in the Ottoman Cabinet. Thus Turkey has disposed of such a religious problem as no other Government has been called upon to face. In the Middle Ages, when Christian Europe was burning its heretics at the stake, Islam in Turkey, by permitting its heretics to live securely in their own community organizations, achieved a degree of tolerance which is its glory to this day.

These non-Moslem communities have been: *Rum*, or the Greek community, which included all members of the Orthodox Church who recognize the Ecumenical Patriarch; *Katolik*, or the Catholic community, including Armenian Catholics; *Ermeni*, or the Gregorian Armenian community; *Musevi*, or the Jewish community, and *Prodesdan*, or the Protestant community. For centuries these religious minorities in Turkey (excepting the Protestant community, which is a comparatively recent growth) have lived in peace under the Caliph's Government. Exempt by Moslem law from military duties, they lived not only in peace but in a degree of prosperity which not all the Sultan's Moslem subjects were able to attain. Positions of power in the Sultan's Government were open to Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians without reference to their position as religious dissenters in the country, just as positions of power in his



LIEUT. GEN. SIR CHARLES A.
HARINGTON

Allied Commander-in-Chief at Constantinople, appointed by the British War Office

Majesty's Government in London are open to Welshmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, likewise to Jews, without reference to their attitude toward the Church of England.

The strongest of these non-Moslem communities in Turkey is the Greek community, headed by the Ecumenical Patriarch, whose seat is in the Greek suburb of Phanar, in the Stamboul quarter of Constantinople.



SIR HORACE RUMBOLD

British High Commissioner at Constantinople, appointed by the Foreign Office

nople. The Greek Empire ceased to exist as an independent political entity in 1453, but it has continued to exist as an ecclesiastical, political and commercial force at Phanar. Up to 1914, Greek communicants wore the Ottoman fez, but their clergy, whether their native language was Greek or Turkish, wore black cylindrical hats such as the Patriarch wears at Phanar.

Relations between Phanar and the Porte remained peaceful until Greece secured its independence in 1830, and when the Porte collapsed in 1918 and Venizelist Greece stepped into the place vacated by Russia in the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907, Phanar, on March 9, 1919, broke off its ancient relations with the Porte, advising its communicants throughout Turkey that they were no longer Ottoman subjects and forbidding their participation in the Ottoman elections. With Athens and Phanar finding a common leader in Venizelos, Greek troops, under the guns of British men-of-war, occupied Smyrna in May, 1919, and took over Thrace up to the Constantinople peninsula in July, 1920. Under British auspices, the old Greek Empire of 1453 was on its way to political resuscitation.

EFFECT ON INDIA'S MOSLEMS

The effect of this move is perhaps wider than is commonly imagined. For some years before the war, the Church of England had been conducting theological disputations with the Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow, with a view to setting up the capital of the two communions in Constantinople, a program which moved a considerable step toward achievement when the British Government concurred in the Russian claim to Constantinople in the secret agreement of 1915.

This program was suspected by the 70,000,000 Moslems of India who constitute the driving force of Islam today, and it was not until the Government of India had repeatedly, and in the most explicit terms, denied that the Home Government harbored any religious program against their Caliph, that India's Moslems consented to participate in the war against the Ottoman Empire. They participated on the explicit understanding that the British Government's declaration of war against the Sultan was purely political and in-

volved no religious matters whatsoever. But British references during the war to Saloniki as "the portal of Christianity" and to Allenby's campaign against Jerusalem as "a new Crusade," went far to disillusion them, and the Anglo-Greek attempt in 1919 to resuscitate the old Greek Empire of 1453 completed their disillusionment. For the same concern which Christians in England and the United States feel for the Christian minorities in Turkey is felt by Moslems in India for the Moslem majorities in Turkey. And the fact that the King's subjects include 100,000,000 Moslems to 80,000,000 Christians gives Moslems in India an expectation that their wishes will be respected by his Majesty's Government in questions touching Turkey. The King of England is not only Defender of the Faith but Emperor of India. Has any Sovereign in all

history ever been called upon to bear two such incongruous titles?

The result of this incongruous situation at the very pinnacle of the British imperial structure has been the growth of the Caliphate agitation in India, possibly the most formidable movement in the British Empire. It partakes of the nature of a vast religious revival, demanding from religious motives the resuscitation of the Caliph's pre-war realm in its entirety. Meanwhile, the Turkish Nationalist Government of Angora, which has had to confront the Anglo-Greek attack, is a purely political body whose program is the conservation of Turkish sovereignty over Turkish territory. In the view of the Turkish Nationalists, Christianity in the Near East today has only one meaning, and that is the hostile political meaning which the West has insisted on giving it.

The attempt to resuscitate the old Greek Empire of 1453 was hard hit by the defeat of Venizelos at the Greek elections in November, 1920, a defeat which drove a wedge between Athens and Phanar. It continued, however, until the battle of the Sakaria River gave the British Foreign Office a tardy but wholesome respect for facts in the Near East. Today the Government of the Grand National Assembly at Angora is the de facto Government of Turkey, a Government whose horizon is strewn with the débris of Hellenism, and whose Smyrna and Pontus provinces are strewn with débris of a more literal sort.

RISE OF A NEW PATRIARCH

Meanwhile, Phanar's Turkish-speaking communicants in Asia Minor have repudiated Hellenism and seceded from Phanar's rule to set up a Patriarch of their own at Caesarea, in the interior. Twelve of their fifteen Metropolitans having fled to Constantinople in 1919 and turned their churches adrift, these Orthodox in Asia Minor were advised by Phanar that they were no longer Ottoman subjects, an advice which was possibly more easily issued at Phanar than acted upon throughout the lonely villages of Asia Minor. Since Phanar had broken with the Porte and become openly an enemy power in the Turks' own capital, its repeated orders to its communicants in the interior soon began landing them in Turkish Nationalist jails.



PAPA EUTHYMOS EFFENDI
Acting Metropolitan of the new Turkish
Orthodox Church, in his ecclesiastical dress

Among these Orthodox political prisoners was one Papa Euthymos, a Turkish-speaking priest at Kiskin, twelve miles from Angora, who apparently made his peace with the Nationalists, for he was released and participated with all his flock in the elections for the Ottoman Parliament. Both Phanar and Damad Ferid Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Constantinople Government, thereupon ordered him to report at the capital, but he was beyond their reach. Having himself broken with Phanar, he began circularizing Phanar's Turkish-speaking churches in Asia Minor. In time telegrams began reaching Mustapha Kemal Pasha at Angora from sixty-eight of these churches announcing their break with Phanar and petitioning the Government to recognize them as a new community under the title of the Turkish Orthodox Church. The Assembly thereupon authorized Rafik Shevket Bey, its Minister of Justice, to formulate an act creating the new community, an act based on the regulations which formerly governed Phanar's position under the Ministry of Justice at Constantinople, but with such revisions as would bring the new community into conformity with the National Pact.

This act has been drawn up and by this time has probably been submitted to the Assembly. Under its provisions, the teaching of Greek in the church schools is forbidden, and the community accordingly closed its schools on March 1, 1922, their pupils being sent to the Government schools. Also, since March 1 the Angora Government has contributed £2,500 a month toward the new community's budget, and its Holy Synod at Caesarea agrees to submit its budget to the Minister of Justice. Both under the old regulations which governed Phanar and under the new regulations which govern Caesarea, the Minister of Justice names the Patriarch from a list of three candidates proposed by the Synod, but in the new community the Metropolitans who make up the Synod are required to be able to read and write Turkish, to be of Ottoman parentage and of at least five years' residence in Turkey, and to have abstained from "political activity." Furthermore, in the new community, Metropolitans accused of secular crimes, instead of being immune from arrest without having first been degraded

and then being subject to imprisonment only in the Patriarchate at Phanar, are arrested and tried as any other Ottoman subject is.

Phanar naturally regards Papa Euthymos Effendi, a bushy, beady-eyed little man of 37, with his long hair tied up under a Turkish kalpak, as a tool in the hands of the Angora Government, a view which is doubtless true. It is more to the point, however, to remember that Phanar's break with the Porte in 1919 threw its Turkish-speaking communicants in Asia Minor into a political position which brooked not an instant's neutrality. They were either enemies, as Phanar was, and to be treated as such by the Angora Government, or, having broken with Phanar, they were friends of the Angora Government and to be treated as such. They could not have it both ways. It should be emphasized, too, that the issue on which they broke with Phanar was the purely political issue of the resuscitation of the old Greek Empire of 1453.

FRUITS OF A NEW HATRED

Whether the new community will pass with the passing of political Hellenism remains to be seen. If it does prove vigorous, its secession will still further reduce the once powerful position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Phanar to a slender jurisdiction over the Greek-speaking Orthodox of the coast towns and Constantinople—a fact which might have played its part in occasioning Phanar's peace note to the Porte on Feb. 19 last.

What is chiefly of interest in the rise of the new community, however, is that it constitutes the first application of the National Pact to Phanar's powerful political machine, the strongest of Turkey's internal enemies. It is a move toward the disentangling of religion and politics such as the Islamic community is itself making, a move of the highest importance to the Turk in effecting any modernization of his medieval internal administration. It is significant that the clergy of the new community are to wear their ecclesiastical dress only while engaged in their church duties; at all other times the black cylindrical hat is to be laid aside for the Turkish kalpak.

It is common knowledge by this time

that an attempt to resuscitate the old Greek Empire has failed, but it is to be doubted whether the terrific hatreds which that attempt has engendered are as vividly realized as any adequate understanding of the present situation in Turkey requires them to be. For the West has so far viewed as a religious struggle what is essentially a political struggle.

The resuscitation of the old Greek Empire of 1453 may have been right or it may have been wrong, but it had nothing to do with religion as the West understands the term. As long as the Christian communities in Turkey confined themselves to those purely religious activities for which they were created, they enjoyed the most complete freedom at the hands of the Ottoman Government. Within the last century, however, whether rightly or wrongly, they have not confined themselves to religious activities. They have become political irridentists, an activity which does not lie within the proper scope of a Church, as the West understands churches. The way to peace in the Near East today lies in the elimination of political irridentism from Turkey. Once irridentism is eliminated and its bitter memories forgotten, the Christian communities in Turkey may in time return to their old prosperity.

What has been happening in the Near East since the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907 is the same thing that happened to the Moors in Spain five centuries ago. Just as the Catholics drove the Moors out of Europe and destroyed the great Moslem monuments of Cordoba, Granada and Toledo, so the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans have attempted to drive the Turks

out of Europe. It is an ugly and medieval business, of which Western Christendom has taken a curiously unreal view. In the terrific hatreds which it has engendered, deportations have had to be set afoot by every race which has become embroiled in it. But in the eyes of Western Christendom, when Christian has deported

Christian it is nothing; when Moslem has deported Moslem it is less than nothing; when Christian has massacred Moslem and a commission composed of the highest allied authorities in Constantinople has conducted a long and thorough investigation, its report is suppressed; but when Moslem has deported Christian and an American relief worker reaches Constantinople to tell of it, the British Government proposes to the American, French and Italian Governments a joint international investigation into "atrocities" in Asia Minor. There have been prouder and more discerning movements in the history of Western Christendom than



RAFIK SHEVKET BEY
Minister of Justice in the Angora Cabinet

this present movement.

These hatreds have had precisely the effect in Asia Minor which they might be expected to have. Neither Turks nor Greeks have had sufficient regular forces at their disposal to regularize the warfare which has risen and fallen in intensity in the Pontus to coincide with every Greek advance and retreat on the Smyrna front. The Pontus has been left by both sides to irregular warfare, and irregular warfare in the Pontus has worked its usual horrors. The upshot of it has been that the Turks continue to hold the Pontus, although its rich fields and villages have been reduced to a waste.

Smyrna and its hinterland, however, have been under regular military occupation by the Greeks, and the atrocities committed by the Greek regular troops back of Smyrna are a little worse than anything which has been reported from the Pontus. Over 130 Turkish villages have been destroyed, and Greek commanders have stated openly that every inch of this area, one of the most fertile in the world, will be devastated before the Greeks abandon it. If political Hellenism had been successful, one would, of course, have shrugged one's shoulders at the sight of this appalling waste: "c'est la guerre." But Hellenism has failed and is leaving behind it today not only great devastations in the Pontus and back of Smyrna, but a hatred throughout the decimated villages of Asia Minor which will require a generation for its cooling.

FATE OF THE ARMENIANS

As for the remnant of the Gregorian Armenian community which remains in Asia Minor, men between the ages of 15 and 65 in villages back of the Western (Smyrna) front have been deported into the interior and are not being permitted to return as long as the Greeks remain in Smyrna. This is purely a military measure, and, in view of the fact that some Armenians have been driven into "indiscretions" by their fear of the Turk, it is probably justified. As to the manner in which the deportations are carried out, the military command makes such provisions

as it can afford, but the application of its provisions depends as usual on the local police chiefs and varies widely. A number of Armenian deportees have died either during the deportation marches or upon arrival in the villages to which they are consigned, but no such savage brutality attends these deportations as attended the great deportations of 1915 in many provinces. Although it has no confidence in their political loyalty, the Angora Government is anxious to save the remnant of its Gregorian community for economic reasons; Asia Minor will need every workman it can lay its hands on, if it is to rebuild its devastated areas. Accordingly none of them is permitted to leave the country (except under the exceptional circumstances which prevailed last December in Cilicia, to which reference will be made in a later article). The Government has the right to conscript them for the army under the Constitution of 1908, but, fearing treachery, it is using only those whom it can trust in roadbuilding back of the front; I believe I am right in saying that no Gregorian Armenians have been used as combatant troops.

Meanwhile, the women and children who remain in the villages whence their men have been taken are permitted to receive no mail from the outside world, for Angora's censors are supposed to read Turkish and French only, not Armenian. Their churches are locked up, but I have seen none of them damaged; a large number of smaller mosques have been taken

Greek wounded in a Red Crescent hospital. Two Greek army doctors, prisoners of war, are in the group. The others are Turkish officers, doctors and nurses



over for military purposes, but I have seen no church of any community, either Gregorian or otherwise, so taken over. They are taxed to the point of robbery, but so are their Turkish neighbors. Nobody in Asia Minor is having an easy time today.

The tragic story of the Gregorian Arme-

nian community in Turkey is finished. If one passes it now in review it is solely with the hope of discovering in it some useful guidance for the future. Indeed, there flow from no other source today such profoundly sobering reflections for Americans in Turkey.

(Next Month: *Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Americans.*)

GREEK ATROCITIES IN SMYRNA

By MEHMED SHEFIK ZIA

To the Editor of Current History:

After reading the article, "Aristides the Just of Smyrna," by H. A. Henderson, published in your July number, as a Turk and a Moslem I consider it my national and religious duty to say a few words about this much-praised Greek administration in Smyrna.

Mr. Henderson evidently is trying to describe the landing of Greek troops at Smyrna in May, 1919, as a most peaceful thing; but the 2,500,000 Turkish refugees, the hounded and murdered Turkish women and children of European Turkey and Smyrna, tell an altogether different story. The cries for help of those who were forced out of their happy homes and peaceful farms by the Greek army and the Greek bands unfortunately were never permitted to reach the ears of the true liberty-loving Americans. The powerful Anglo-Greek propaganda and the prejudiced missionaries, through their church papers, did their utmost to stifle the cries of millions of destitute Turkish women and children with a powerful anti-Turkish and anti-Mohammedan propaganda, and with stories of so-called Turkish atrocities. But the survivors of the horrors of Smyrna and Thrace show plainly what Greek justice is like. The refugees, who are at present exposed to all kinds of misery and disease in Constantinople and other places, are completely at the mercy of the blazing sun of Summer and the icy winds of Winter, and are dying daily by hundreds, despite the care of the American Red Cross and the Turkish Red Crescent.

How many Greeks were punished by this much-praised "Aristides the Just" for the

crimes committed by the Greek army in the towns and the villages of Smyrna, in the course of which thousands of mothers, young girls and children were burned alive, thousands of homes and farms destroyed? If the world does not know, the terror-stricken population of the city of Smyrna still remembers the butchering of the 600 Turks, including women and children, at Smyrna during the first two days of the Greek occupation of that city.

I am going to cite one of the many crimes committed by the Greek army, just to demonstrate to the American public the corruptness of the administration conducted by "Aristides the Just": On Feb. 14, 1922, the Greek soldiers went to the towns of Sekisachack, Karatepe and Efjick, in the Province of Smyrna, and ordered the population, including the women and children, to assemble in the mosques to hear the new proclamation of the Greek Government. The people obeyed this order and innocently assembled in the mosques. Then the Greek soldiers surrounded the buildings, nailed the doors, and by using petroleum, burned the mosques, in which the innocent men, women and children perished. In these three towns there is not a single home or building left untouched or undestroyed. The ruins of once happy homes and the corpses of once happy mothers and children are still there, left to the wolves. Full information concerning this particular crime was published on April 6 in The London Times, with a letter from Professor Arnold Toynbee. This undoubtedly exhibits the official Greek policy of extermination that is so ruthlessly carried

out against the Turks. The above case, however, is only one of the countless bloody atrocities committed by the Greeks in Smyrna and Thrace.

Greece went to Smyrna on the direct invitation and protection of England, and before the Treaty of Sèvres was signed. But what right did England or any other Government have to give Smyrna to Greece? Smyrna has a population of 2,500,000 Turks against 200,000 Greeks. According to the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, the Turkish Government was supposed to surrender to the Greeks the exercise of sovereignty over the city of Smyrna and some of the territory surrounding the city. But the Turks never recognized the Treaty of Sèvres and the Grand Assembly at Angora, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha—which is the only Government that speaks for the Turkish people—flatly refused to ratify this death warrant. However, Greece is already holding the entire Province of Smyrna and some parts of the Province of Broussa in Asia Minor, with the entire Province of Adrianople in European Turkey. She expects the support of the Allies and even of the American Government. The behavior of the Greek Army and the corrupt Greek administration is typical of what will occur if the Greeks are permitted to hold Smyrna and Thrace permanently.

The occupation of Turkish territory by the Greeks, with the aid and protection of England, involved the fate of millions of Turkish and Moslem lives. Great Britain, as sponsor for the Greek Government and

a main supporter of the Greek Army, can not avoid some share of responsibility for the crimes committed by the Greeks. The Anglo-Greek propaganda machine has been very active in the United States, and lately has been conducting mass meetings in New York, Philadelphia and dozens of other large cities against the Turks. The sole object of this machine is to charge the Turks with all sorts of unspeakable atrocities, make Americans believe that they are a menace to Christianity, and so gain the approval of the American public for the occupation of Turkish territories by England and her Eastern tool, the Greeks, and for the justification of their war against the Turkish Nationalists.

For generations the compactly organized British and European propaganda persistently maligned us Turks. We realize that the Christian world is too well drilled to believe our mere denials of all the charges brought against us by the European and Anglo-Greek propaganda machine. But when the people of America learn the truth about the misrepresented Turk, through the information given out by honest men such as Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, Mr. Clair Price and Henry Woodhouse, and through truthful information agencies, and learn that the Turk has been lied about and as a man is better than the average European, those who direct and conduct the shameless propaganda against the Turks will hang their heads in confusion.

301 Meyran Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., July 16, 1922.

OVERPOPULATION IN EGYPT

A SERIOUS economic menace is developing in Egypt, which recently entered on a new phase of political existence as a semi-independent kingdom, with Great Britain's protective shadow in the background. The Egyptian population is growing at a tremendous rate. For the twelve months ended on Dec. 31, 1912, the total number of births registered (including foreigners) was 508,181; for the same period the total number of deaths was 294,964. For the twelve months ended Dec. 31, 1921, the total births were 558,898; the total deaths 334,439. The figures for the first four months of 1922 are even

more serious: they show the total births in cities and towns housing one-sixth of the total population to have been 32,752, and the total deaths during the same period to have been 16,786. According to these official figures, the total births are in the ratio of two to one compared with the total deaths. This is generally conceded by Egyptian authorities to be a growing menace to the economic position of Egypt, with its dearth of cultivable land and lack of industrial development. The new Government, immersed in its own inner struggles, has thus far made no effort to find a solution for this problem.

WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS ACCOMPLISHED

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

Member of the League Secretariat at Geneva

An authoritative summary of the solid results which the League has achieved—Four outstanding acts of mediation which prevented possible war—Important steps toward world co-operation

This authoritative survey of what the League of Nations has actually done since its establishment in January, 1920, is based upon a more detailed study, which the author has prepared for the New York Council on Foreign Relations. The League is now approaching the third year of its existence. Mr. Sweetser's account of its activities acquires a special timeliness in view of Premier Lloyd George's public assertion in London on July 28 that the League is "the only hope of future peace."—EDITOR.

THE most ambitious, and possibly the most romantic project cast up out of the wreckage of the World War was that for the establishment of a society of nations to perpetuate peace and to make the world a better place in which to live. The possibilities of a co-operative world movement of all nations, big and little, white, yellow and brown, primitive and modern, are great; the difficulties staggering.

The supreme task of modern statesmanship is to effect an understanding regarding the basis of international association. The question becomes more pressing with each steamer launched and each wireless aerial erected. The world is becoming smaller and smaller and its various parts more and more interdependent. Temporary questions, specific issues and individual disputes may loom large on our daily horizon, but all these are only surface disturbances compared with the underlying issue of world co-operation.

Now that the Washington and Genoa conferences have come and gone, the former a brilliant success, the latter as yet a doubtful experiment, the problem of a permanent organic relationship between all nations presents itself with renewed vigor and in almost new form. The world can now take stock of actualities. It must be clear to every one that casual,

isolated conferences are not sufficient, and that at least some loose continuing form of association is absolutely essential.

How far the existing League of Nations, which has been developing during the last two and a half years, fulfills that necessity is a question of prime importance. Very obviously, fifty-one nations would not have continued their loyalty to it if it had not had some value. Whether the existing League continues to grow until it finally eventuates into the universally desired co-operative world movement, or whether an attempt be made to substitute something quite different, depends largely on a close knowledge of what, in actual fact, the present League has done.

The worst enemies of the League could not have wished it a more difficult period in which to begin its work. On the one hand were the former allied powers, still hot with war emotions; on another the enemy States, stung by defeat and humiliation; on a third, Great Russia, in its social cataclysm; again, the former neutral powers were timorous and distrustful; and, finally, the United States, freest of all from the ravages of war, was just settling into a paralyzing political turmoil. Never was the spirit of good-will and conciliation so necessary; never was it more distant.

The formal birth of the League on Jan. 10, 1920, could not have been expected to stem the tide of war, hatred, selfishness and supernationalism surging through the world. The actual entry into force of the League Covenant was only a promise, a ray of sunshine in a darkened sky. No one who knew human beings could expect that any magic key to sudden world quiescence had been found; but what they could and did hope was that political

machinery was being constructed which would, at first slowly, but later at accelerated speed, serve as the means of improving international relations.

The League began modestly with thirteen members, all of them former allied powers which had ratified the Treaty of Versailles. Within a short time all the other signatories of that document had ratified except the United States and the Hedjaz; all the thirteen former neutral States, including Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland and Spain, had accepted the invitation to adhere; most of the new States born in the war, such as Lithuania, Albania and the Baltic nations, had applied and been admitted; and two of the former enemy powers, Austria and Bulgaria, had been received back fully into the comity of nations. Now, when the rollcall for the annual Assembly is sounded, no less than fifty-one sovereign nations are free to answer as full members of the League, and it may not be long before Germany and the Irish Free State are added to the list. A visitor to the Assembly may, therefore, look down upon the largest world conference ever brought together, as at a meeting which last September was opened by a Chinese diplomat, presided over by the Foreign Minister of Holland, addressed by Europeans, South Americans, Australians and natives of India; and where, in serious truth, a shock was given to Kipling's classic of a divided world: "Never the twain shall meet."

The outstanding fact about all this is that half a hundred nations have solemnly signed a short, simple agreement, first, not to go to war without arbitration or conciliation, and, second, to work together for the general betterment of world relations. This means, in short, that for the first time in history the bulk of the world's population has recognized a common moral responsibility for the preservation of peace and has established an organization and a procedure to make that responsibility effective.

With this general statement, let me go straightway to specific cases. I will sweep aside all discussion of the organization and structure of the League, and all legalistic hair splitting over its covenant, in order to analyze it, phase by phase, and

search out its spirit and whatever may be its promise.

EXECUTING THE TREATY

Turning first to its political significance, I may point out its first and immediate rôle as an ameliorator of the Peace Treaty. The world's need of a permanent international association became obvious during the first days of the Peace Conference. Very often the most fundamental principles or policies came into head-on collision, whence the only possible egress was continuing international control. Therefore the League was called upon as an impartial agency to watch over the execution of certain decisions made for the general good, as, for example, to prevent the former German and Turkish colonies from being seized as spoils of war; to protect the rights of large communities of alien minorities throughout Eastern Europe, and to safeguard the principle of nationality while giving France her coal reparations in the Saar Valley and Poland her access to the sea through Danzig.

At the very outset of the Peace Conference a desperate struggle developed over the disposition of the former Turkish and German colonies, representing vast territories in Africa, Asia Minor and the Pacific. Were these territories, with their 13,000,000 helpless people, to be handed about among the victors as spoils of war, as had happened in all previous war settlements, or was a new and better principle to prevail? President Wilson, seizing upon the proposal of Premier Smuts of South Africa, urged that they be mandated to certain more developed powers "as a sacred trust of civilization." The better principle at last won. Provisions were written into the covenant that these territories were not to be annexed as possessions by any nation, but were to be administered under the general supervision of the League in the interest, first, of the natives, and second, of the other nations of the world. The League's control began when it was called upon to decide whether the draft mandates were or were not in conformity with the principles accepted in the Covenant.

The mandates to Japan for the Pacific islands north of the Equator, to Australia and New Zealand for the islands south of the Equator, and to South Africa for for-

mer German Southwest Africa, were confirmed by the League Council over a year ago and immediately entered into effect. After long negotiations the Japanese mandate has been formally approved by the United States through the Yap Treaty, made with Japan during the Washington conference, and quoting the League mandate in full. The first annual reports of the administration of these territories have been received by the League in order to allow examination as to whether the mandate obligations have been observed. Less fortunate have been the Central African and Asia Minor mandates. A year or more ago the League Council was half way through a sixty-page report looking to the confirmation of these mandates when Secretary of State Colby cabled a sudden sharp protest. The Council immediately postponed all action and invited America to discuss the question at its next meeting. Not even an answer, however, was received to this communication. The Council finally decided to ask some of its member States to attempt direct negotiations with America. These negotiations, after another long delay, now give some hope of issue.

The mandate principle is right and will eventually become operative. The safeguards written into the covenant and the mandate terms, the continued watchfulness of the League and the existence of an easily accessible means of protest will make it impossible for colonial horrors to continue unchallenged. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, which has already held several sessions, strengthens this hope, for its members are not Government officials bound by narrow instructions, but colonial experts serving internationally and composed of a majority of nationals of non-mandatory nations.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Springing from the same impulse is the League's acceptance of the obligation to protect large racial and linguistic minorities who have been cut adrift from their own people in the patchwork of races that is Eastern Europe. The older nations were determined to prevent the new States from generating international ill-will out of the oppression of these minorities. Consequently a network of minority treaties was spun all the way from Finland in the

North through Eastern Europe to Greece in the South. Any violation of these treaties may be referred by one of the main powers to the Council of the League. A detailed procedure has been worked out with the States controlling minorities.

Unquestionably the most difficult of all Peace Conference tasks entrusted to the League was the administration of the Saar Valley, where France's just claims for reparation for Germany's wanton destruction of French coal mines came into conflict with the principle of nationality. The best reparation that could be given was the ownership of the Saar coal mines, but as it was difficult to make that ownership effective while the territory continued under German authority, and as it seemed unwise to place its 600,000 inhabitants under French administration, it was decided to create an international control responsible to the Council of the League, this control to last for the fifteen years necessary for the reconstruction of the French mines, and to be terminated in 1935, when the inhabitants should make known by plebiscite vote their final choice as to whether they would remain under League control or be united with Germany or France.

The League here had to deal with an inevitable and continuous conflict of interests. A governing commission, however, was appointed, consisting of a Frenchman, a Belgian, a Dane, a Saarois and a Canadian (the latter a former Mayor of Winnipeg), and the complete powers of government were taken over. Constant as have been the difficulties, this control has differed from all previous international administrations, and has offered opportunity for righting any temporary troubles through the League Council's continuous supervision. Both the Saar inhabitants and the German Government have taken frequent advantage of this opportunity of having their protests heard, and as a result the administration has been brought by the governing commission closely into line with the desire of the inhabitants. The next step is the creation of a local assembly, which will make the inhabitants even more vocal than they have hitherto been. It seems undoubted that the League can give as nearly satisfactory an administration as would be possible in

any circumstances during the fifteen years before the final status of the territory is settled.

Another almost equally difficult problem, involving two fundamental principles in the Fourteen Points, arose as regards Poland. When that State had been reconstituted it was found that a nation of some 25,000,000 people had been set up without any means of access to the sea. Danzig was the only practicable route, but Danzig was overwhelmingly German in population. In order to recognize Poland's undoubted economic right without violating the nationality of the city, the compromise was hit upon of restoring Danzig to its old position of a free city, and extending to it the protection of the League of Nations. The labor involved in this fundamental realignment has been most arduous. The Council has considered Danzig problems in exhaustive detail at many sessions. As a result, a Constitution has been put into operation; a Local Government created; a detailed economic agreement worked out with Poland, and the free State definitely and successfully launched.

DIRECT INTERMEDIATIONS

Hardly had the League been organized when Great Britain asked it to use its good offices in the Aland Islands dispute. Both Sweden and Finland accepted this mediation. It was a solemn moment when, at a special meeting of the League Council in London, first the Swedish and then the Finnish representative publicly pledged his nation to take no hostile step till the League's award had been given. A commission visited the islands (claimed by Sweden because their population was overwhelmingly Swedish, and by Finland because they had been for over a hundred years a part of the former Russian Duchy of Finland), and the Council followed the case step by step in meetings at Paris and Geneva, where the views of both notions and of the islanders were presented at length and usually in public. Finally came the award. Finland's demand for sovereignty was accepted, though detailed recommendations for the preservation of the Swedish national attachments were made. The award was freely accepted by

both sides, and two neighboring nations who had been drifting into bitterness were restored to good will. The immediate result was the first regional diplomatic conference held under the League. As the Aland case affected all nations having interests in the Baltic, a Ten-Power Conference was called at Geneva, where the original accord was amplified into a broad international agreement providing for the internationalization and demilitarization of the whole archipelago. The League was constituted arbiter in the execution of the terms.

The League had a far more dangerous problem to confront in the dispute between Poland and Lithuania over the possession of Vilna, and admittedly secured less satisfactory results. The World War had left these two new States angrily facing each other over a wide stretch of territory claimed by both. Troops were on the march; skirmishes were frequent, and real war seemed imminent. Both nations, however, chose the wiser course of appealing to the League, and a temporary peace was assured, while a League commission endeavored to straighten out the tangle. Unfortunately, General Zeligowski, a high Polish officer, chose this very moment for a theatrical emulation of d'Annunzio's coup at Fiume, by marching into Vilna, which was always spoken of by the Lithuanians as their ancient capital. Under the old order, war would have been as inevitable as if the Mexicans had seized El Paso. But again there was another way out. Though the League did not have a single soldier at its back, it was once more called upon at the peak of the crisis, and succeeded at least in keeping the two nations from flying at each other's throat.

The League plan for a plebiscite based on Zeligowski's replacement by an international force encountered too many difficulties, and fell through, and direct negotiations were instituted by the League under the Presidency of Mr. Hymans, a high official of the League. Six weeks' labors proved that an agreement was impossible. Efforts of the Assembly to induce the two parties to accept Mr. Hymans's solution proved fruitless. The League accordingly found itself faced by the fact that it had exhausted all its efforts, and had no al-

ternative but to return the dispute to direct negotiations, leaving the two parties responsible before the bar of world opinion. The conclusion seems to be that the League averted hostilities. Called in at a moment of supreme crisis, it held the reins tight during two dangerous years, laid the whole record bare in a way never before possible, and marshaled the forces of world public opinion in the interests of peace. It manoeuvred so as to leave the disputants in a position where it was almost morally impossible for them to resort to war. [The Vilna controversy has now been settled by the formal annexation of this district to Poland.]

THE UPPER SILESIAN MENACE

No case more dramatic than that of Upper Silesia can be imagined. Overwhelmingly German at one end, Polish at the other, and hopelessly hybrid where the two nations cross, it contains one of the richest coal fields and one of the wealthiest industrial areas in all Europe. Its possession as between Germany and Poland represented a conflict which, though bitter enough in the days of the Paris Peace Conference, kept mounting to a point where a world conflagration was not impossible. While Germany and Poland were at white heat, and Korfanty was lighting the fires of insurrection in Upper Silesia itself, the Allied Supreme Council, on whose decision rested the fate of the province, found itself in a state of hopeless deadlock. Premier Lloyd George had taken one position, Premier Briand another, and no compromise, however artful, suggested by their Italian and other colleagues, could break it. Fiery speeches had been made on both sides; the Franco-British alliance, which had stood since the first German set foot on Belgian soil in 1914, seemed threatened, and the Chancelleries of Europe awaited with fear the first chance spark in Upper Silesia itself.

Then some one thought of the League. With a sigh of relief, the Allied Supreme Council, representing the most powerful military body in the world, admitted its own complete failure, and turned the problem over to an organization which had at its disposal no power except that of moral force. The League set to work in

the cooler atmosphere of Geneva. It was confronted by a terribly unwelcome task, which many people predicted would break it. It is not without interest that a Japanese presided over the Council meetings; that the preliminary frontier line was drawn by the Belgian, Spanish, Brazilian and Chinese members of the Council, for the very reason that they had no part in the previous negotiations; and that the economic experts were two neutrals, a Czechoslovak and a Swiss. The frontier was made to follow the plebiscite as nearly as possible, while the economic unity was maintained by a series of most detailed economic proposals. [The many difficult steps by which this settlement was reached were described in a previous issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*.] How much misery this simple combination might have saved if the Paris Peace Conference had applied it to other territorial adjustments!

Even more dramatic was the Albanian dispute, in which the League first suggested the use of the economic boycott. The status of Albania is too complex to attempt to unravel here. In itself a primitive country, it was already an international storm centre long before the war. Left still chaotic by the Peace Conference, the first League Assembly admitted Albania to membership, and immediately brought pressure on the allied powers to determine its frontier and complete the steps promised for launching it as a fully independent State. Constant delays occurred, and equally constant frontier skirmishes, with the result that the League sent an investigating commission composed of a Finn, a Norwegian and a Luxemburgian. At this moment came a bombshell. Mr. Lloyd George telegraphed the League that the "continued advance of Yugoslav forces into Albania being of a nature to disturb international peace, his Majesty's Government desires to call the attention of the Council thereto, and requests that you take immediate steps to summon a meeting of the Council to consider the situation, and to agree upon measures to be taken in the event of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government refusing to execute their obligations under the covenant."

Within a week's time the notices had been sent out, and the interested nations

assembled around the conference table. Again one's mind recurs to what such machinery might have meant in 1914. The London bankers became alarmed; Yugoslav exchange fell sharply, and a Yugoslav loan was held up. Though the representative of Yugoslavia protested that Yugoslav troops had entered Albania only in counter-attacks, he promised that they would be withdrawn and the frontier as laid down respected. The League commission then in Albania shortly reported that the Yugoslav troops were back at their own frontier, that the neutral zone had been re-established, and that skirmishing had ceased. Friendly diplomatic relations were re-established through the League; later Albania asked the League to appoint financial advisers to help reform its administration.

Such, then, are the four intermediations so far undertaken by the League. Through them potential wars were averted.

REDUCING ARMAMENTS

As regards the reduction of armaments, whose existence involved great expenditures and contained a psychological threat to world peace, the League has made some progress against great obstacles. Naval reduction was immediately debarred from League consideration when the political tension in America, the key country, made President Wilson refuse the invitation to co-operate with the League in this matter.

Similarly the reduction of land forces has been rendered most difficult because the confidence and good-will on which disarmament alone can rest have not yet been re-established. Yet the League has brought the need of reduction before world attention at conference after conference, beginning with the Brussels Financial Conference, running through two Assemblies, and coming to a head in a special and powerful disarmament commission. In the early work it was proposed that the nations agree at least not to increase their armament budgets for the next two years, that methods be evolved to limit the evils of the private manufacture of arms, and that the traffic in arms between nations be greatly limited. More recently a complete project for universal and simultaneous reduction has been proposed. When the moment is ripe, there is in the League

the organization, information, personnel and spirit to translate an international hope into a reality. Until that moment, dependent on the world's general political situation, no power can effect any betterment of the situation.

In close connection with the whole question of international peace stands the elimination of all secret treaties. A new procedure initiated by the League involves the registration of all international agreements, thus bringing into play the most vital principle of open diplomacy. In recognition of the fact that secret treaties were one of the most prolific causes of international suspicion and eventual war, the nations signing the covenant agreed that no treaty should have international validity unless registered and published by the League of Nations. In consequence of this agreement, a Treaty Registration Section was established at Geneva; this department has functioned actively. Already over 250 treaties have been received and registered, affecting practically every country in the world, and some twenty-four numbers of the Special Treaties Series, containing almost as many languages, have been published.

THE WORLD'S FIRST TRIBUNAL

The settlement of disputes through the political bodies of the League was not sufficient. It was clear that there must also be a judicial branch where disputes of a purely legal nature might be settled without consideration of political interests. This need was clearly defined in Secretary Root's instructions to the American delegates to the Second Hague Conference in 1907 to attempt to create "a permanent tribunal composed of Judges who are judicial officers, and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international cases by judicial methods, and under a sense of judicial responsibility." But the Second Hague Conference failed to fulfill this desire. The creation of the League made it possible to break the deadlock created by mutual jealousies between the large and small States. It remained for Mr. Root, as a member of the League's Commission of Jurists, to suggest that the formula accepted in the

general League structure be carried over into the machinery for electing Judges to the court. In other words, the Assembly and the Council should have an equal voice in the election, voting simultaneously and from the same ballot, and with the understanding that any jurist chosen by both bodies should be declared elected. Thus the great powers would, through their control of the Council, have a veto on any unjustified claims of the smaller powers, while the smaller powers, by their control of the Assembly, would similarly have protection against the great powers.

This simple formula made possible what had previously been wholly impossible. The court project was approved consecutively by the Council, the Assembly, and the Parliaments of the various nations with a speed never before equaled for an international convention. In September, 1921, in a scene which will long be memorable, the eleven Judges and the four Deputy Judges were elected. During a whole day, the Assembly in public session and the Council in private session a mile away, voted from a list of eighty-nine candidates submitted by the existing Court of Arbitration. Five ballots were required to complete the Assembly's choice of eleven, and when comparison was made with the list chosen by the Council, nine names were found to be common to both, and were thus declared elected. By nightfall of the first day's balloting of the nations, every place was filled but that of the Fourth Deputy Judge, who was elected by a conference committee of the two houses several days later.

The preliminary session of the court was held at The Hague Peace Palace in February. The internal organization was agreed upon and the first business session fixed. Within twenty-seven months of its inception the court was in actual session—the quickest drafting, ratification and execution of a peacetime international proposal that has ever taken place. This court is unprecedented in three ways. First, it is a permanent court in that it consists of eleven individuals elected for terms of nine years with salaries running from \$6,000 to \$24,000, depending on the days of actual service, and is not, like the existing Hague Court of Arbitration, merely a panel of jurists from among whom litigant States

may constitute a special court. Second, it is a court of law rather than a body entrusted with powers of negotiation, compromise, or even arbitration. Third, no less than eighteen nations have agreed to give it compulsory jurisdiction over all disputes that may arise between them, thus marking what may truly be claimed as the longest step ever taken for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

LEAGUE'S ECONOMIC SERVICE

Peace and arbitration, however, should not be a stopping point, but rather a new starting point of international co-operation. There must be an agency for the solving of problems of finance, economics, transit and communications, all of increasing concern to international good-will. The League had no sooner been formally launched than a whole maze of such problems confronted it. The intolerable passport restrictions which grew out of the war in Europe were cleared away by an international conference held in Paris. Europe's disturbed finances were strengthened by the financial conference held under the auspices of the League at Brussels. Out of this month's intensive interchange of views originated the slogans, "balancing national budgets," "reducing armament costs" and "stopping the printing press." The Ter Meulen scheme for international credits, under which an importer in a low-exchange country is allowed to import raw materials by paying the exporter in Ter Meulen bonds issued by an international committee and guaranteed, first, by his own Government's judgment of his business stability, and, second, by that Government's hypothecation of its customs or other revenues, has already been taken advantage of by Czechoslovakia, which has contracted a \$40,000,000 loan along these lines, with certain cases of dispute to be referred to the League Council for arbitration.

An immediate by-product of the continuing work of the Brussels conference and the Ter Meulen scheme was the handing over to the League of the whole desperate Austrian financial problem. In a twinkling, relatively speaking, Austria's position changed from that of a nation strangling to death in the reparations grip of its former enemies into that of an in-

valid State in the care of a group of experts representing a world organization of which she herself was a full member. The committee at once went to Vienna, secured the assent of the Austrian Government to a sweeping program of economy, reconvened in London to receive assurances of credit, not only from the allied countries, but also from the formal neutrals, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, and notified the Government that all that was now necessary was the final and official postponement of the war liens against Austria. A long delay occurred, mainly because of America's slowness in releasing her \$24,000,000 grain credits, but the eventual passage of this bill by Congress makes it possible to put the League scheme into operation practically as drafted.

Only less important than the Brussels conference was the five weeks' meeting of forty nations at Barcelona, Spain, to work out a series of draft conventions which, when ratified by the various Parliaments, will sweep away many of the false restrictions imposed on trade during the war and open up international arteries of commerce to the equal use of all nations. The experts at Barcelona succeeded in working out a series of such agreements, doing away with many violations of the accepted minimum rights of transit, which had served not only to delay the world's reconstruction, but also to keep open the breach between the nations; within a short time these agreements will become a new international law of transit. Two detailed conventions, submitted to the participating nations in the form of draft treaties, lay down the general principle that transport originating in one State, and crossing a second State into a third, or transport making use of a through international waterway, shall enjoy complete liberty, with equal treatment and with entire freedom from special customs duties, taxes or vexations of any sort. Recommendations were also made for a new international law for railroad traffic and international ports. So thoroughly was the work done at Barcelona that when the Genoa conference took up the question of transit it urged the nations which had not already done so to ratify these conventions immediately. Like other League work, the Barcelona

conference did not end when the President's gavel fell, but has continued through the Advisory and Technical Commission of Communications and Transit which it created to execute its work and to prepare for a new international conference two years hence.

HUMANITARIAN ACHIEVEMENTS

More and more the League of Nations is developing into an international repository for many different kinds of international activities which otherwise would be carried out most ineffectively and uneconomically, or perhaps not even attempted. As the nations have grown closer together in recent decades, international movements have sprung up, first in one line, then in another, with increasing frequency. Thus was launched at Paris in 1904 an international movement to suppress the white-slave traffic; thus in Rome in 1907 an international health office was created; thus was developed at The Hague in 1912 an international movement to suppress the opium traffic. Now the League has come to furnish, so to speak, a common roof under which these movements may dwell and share each other's strength. The first example of this co-ordination centred about the crusade against opium and other drugs. There is no need of enlarging on the horrors of an unregistered opium traffic. Those interested in ending the traffic secured the insertion in the covenant of a provision that henceforth the work should be centralized under the League. The result was immediate. A technical commission, composed largely of Far Eastern experts, and including a Japanese, a Chinese, a Siamese, an Indian and an American delegate, was appointed by the Council, and last Spring made detailed recommendations which were immediately discussed and approved in the two world gatherings of the Council and the Assembly. A second meeting, based largely on information received from practically all the Governments of the world except the United States, has just carried the work still further and laid out a complete plan for the suppression of the traffic.

So also with the campaign against the international white-slave traffic. Here also international conventions had been

drawn up in 1904 and 1910 providing for the return of foreign prostitutes and the control of ports of entry, but unfortunately they had not had sufficient impetus behind them to secure a general adhesion among the world's Governments. By reason of the misery due to the war it was feared that a great many women would be driven from home and that a great increase in the traffic would take place; consequently this problem was also specially transferred to the League. Some thirty nations met in Geneva last Spring and agreed upon a series of changes to strengthen the existing conventions. Instead of thirteen signatories, as was the case with the previous conventions, there are already thirty-three to the new document.

In line with this humanitarian work, and fully as important to the welfare of the world, is the League's activity in solving problems of international health. The most hardened enemy of international co-operation would not oppose united action to prevent the spread of plagues or world diseases. The need for co-operation in health matters was made apparent even before there had been any chance to organize it. Great armies of men seething back and forth across Poland had steeped that country in a typhus epidemic which threatened all Europe. Not only did the endangered countries of Europe respond to the League's appeals, but such distant lands as Canada, Japan, Persia, Siam and South America. A sum of money was raised and the League organized an Epidemics Commission and sent it to Poland to bring the best Western experience to the aid of the Polish national authorities. There is a real romance in this co-ordinated battle in building up the sanitary cordon along the Russian frontier to prevent the further importation of disease by the streams of returning refugees, and later in stamping out the typhus already in the country. The campaign largely succeeded, and Western Europe was freed for a time of a serious danger; but soon it reappeared, with the result that the League committee called a general conference, acting through Poland and convening in Warsaw, in which Soviet Russia and Germany, as well as Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey and other nations totaling twenty-seven in all, were represented. From this

meeting arose a general plan to cost \$7,500,000 to free Eastern Europe and Russia of epidemics, and, second, a valuable health draft-convention to be signed by all the nations of that troubled area.

The League is conducting other international health work. At this moment, as a result of a previous international conference, the great public health laboratories of the world, such as the Pasteur Institute at Paris, the Kitasato at Tokio, the London, Copenhagen, Warsaw and Berlin organizations, and the Public Health Laboratory at Washington, are conducting experiments in anti-toxic serums on a world-wide plan of co-operation, aimed at the securing of standardization. Some one slyly remarked that this League activity was one that need not be feared even by those most fearful of contamination by international association.

A WORLD CLEARING HOUSE

It is clear that the League is fast becoming a clearing house for the nations. An international centre is being built up where many international activities, whether of a permanent nature or prompted by a special emergency, may be co-ordinated under a single administrative machine spelling speed, efficiency, economy and common sense. Few of these activities are dominantly political; they are mostly technical, social and humanitarian.

As an example of how the League rises to meet the need of a sudden social emergency, I may cite an achievement of which the League may be justly proud, namely, the gigantic task undertaken by it through Dr. Fridtjof Nansen of repatriating the 400,000 war prisoners marooned in Russia after the war and doomed to perish of starvation and disease had not the League intervened and restored them to their families. At the same time 750,000 Russian refugees in Europe were repatriated. The desperate situation of these two great bodies of exiles was one of the greatest tragedies of the war. Again, several hundred thousand women and children, most of them Armenian Christians, had been seized by the Turks during the chaos that surged over Asia Minor and had been immured in Turkish harems; the League took hold of their tragic case, nom-

inated a High Commissioner at Constantinople, brought about co-operation, took over a number of neutral houses for the salvation of girls rescued from these horrors, and brought moral pressure to bear upon the Turks with most gratifying results. All this could not have been accomplished without an organization like that which the League possesses, with a central Council meeting every three months, able to throw an immediate spotlight on any sudden international distress and illuminate the scene for such co-operative action as the nations may desire to take. Private charity is indispensable, but it is usually slow moving and cannot control shipping, food, medical supplies and credits. Let the importance, the number of people affected and the reaction of this work on international good-will be fully appreciated, for it is from such common humanitarian service that the nations will learn to live together in sympathy, understanding and peace.

No one of all these various social activities has sufficient strength to function fully by itself; all need the stimulus and the machinery provided by affiliation with a broad international organization which can advance their various objects without the turmoil created by the summoning of a special international conference or a special isolated agency.

ASSOCIATION OR DISRUPTION

Such, then, in briefest summary, is the League of Nations. Undoubtedly it has fallen short of expectations. It has not brought the millennium. It cannot immediately stem the high-running tides of international discord; nor will it be more successful than other human organizations have been in making men perfect. But the true measure of the League is not what it might have done, or has not done, but rather what it has actually done that would otherwise have been done less well, or would not have been done at all. There is no single case where it has done harm; whatever be its record, it is all to the credit side. To recapitulate in one long sentence: The League has brought fifty-one nations to a common agreement for peace and co-operation; established an efficient and quick-moving machinery for conference; created a world court of justice and world

organizations of health, transit, finance, and economics; helped toward world reconstruction in its financial conference at Brussels, transit conference at Barcelona, and health conference at Warsaw; stopped hostilities between Yugoslavia and Albania, prevented them between Poland and Lithuania, and mediated successfully in the Aland Islands and Upper Silesia disputes; created a new kind of international supervision in certain vexed Peace Conference problems of mandates, minorities, the Saar Valley and Danzig; co-ordinated many isolated and struggling international activities, such as health problems and the white-slave and opium traffics; and co-operated in humanitarian tasks, such as repatriating 400,000 prisoners and taking the first steps for 800,000 Russian refugees and thousands of Christian women held prisoners in Turkish harems.

This is a record that amply justifies international association. It completely answers fears that the League would be an agency of war. It has not moved a single soldier, has not taken and can not take a direct action without the consent of all its members, and has subjected no nations to a super-State rule. It is nought but an international forum where the member States accept certain minimum rules of decency, come together in conference, and work out such agreements as possible for subsequent ratification by the home authorities. It is the only present hope for an organized effort for world peace and co-operation* More and more it seems that

*In an address delivered before the Free Church Council at London on July 28, 1922, Premier Lloyd George gave utterance to reflections on the war, the post-war crisis, and the dangers of new conflicts. There is, he said, a growing assumption that a conflict is coming again sooner or later. "Nations that have been submerged, buried, are building up new armaments. We see national animosities, national fears, suspicions, dislike, ambition fostered and exaggerated. They are constructing more terrible machines than ever the late war ever saw, to attack cities unarmed, to kill, to maim, to poison, to mutilate, to burn helpless women and children. * * * We have reduced our armaments, army, navy and air, reduced them beyond what they were before the war, and, if all the nations on earth did the same, there would be no peril to peace. But it is difficult for one nation to remain defenseless when others construct machinery which may be used for its destruction." In the Christian spirit only, declared the British Premier, lay hope for the future, and in this connection he referred in most solemn words to the League of Nations. It was he, he declared, who first proposed that the League Covenant should be an essential part of the Versailles Treaty. "The League of Nations," he declared, "is an essential part of the machinery of civilization. If it succeeds,

the present League will be changed or modified, but not replaced. It is grounded too deep in present-day world relations and is bound to the nations by too many strands to allow it to be cast off like a superfluous garment.

There is now being waged across the world arena a dramatic battle between the forces of disruption and the forces of co-operation. If Genoa did nought else, it threw a blinding searchlight on the dangerous cleavages which still exist between former allies, former enemies, and former neutrals. The great question which it posed, and the question which is the root-problem of the League, is whether those cleavages shall continue or whether they shall be healed over into a co-operative world organization. The world's choice would seem to lie between allowing the nations to fall once more into that state of disorganization and confusion from which the World War was the almost certain issue or setting to strengthen and universalize those principles of co-operation which have made it possible for the existing League in its first two and a half years to make such effective contributions to international good-will.

THE LEAGUE COUNCIL'S NINETENTH SESSION

Mr. Sweetser's article was written just before the nineteenth meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, which opened in London on July 15 and closed on July 24, 1922, and which was from various viewpoints one of the most momentous in the history of the League. Besides registering progress in many international undertakings, it finally approved the whole mandate system, the execution of which had been so long delayed, mainly owing to the attitude of the United States. It approved not only the mandates of the B Class (including British Togoland, the Cameroons, East Africa, French Togoland, the

civilization is safe. If it fails, and I speak advisedly, civilization is doomed." The machinery of the League alone could not save the world, but the spirit behind it, expressing itself internationally. The speaker recalled the aftermath of Waterloo, from 1815 to 1821, which saw millions starving to death, disorganization of trade and industry, high taxation, high prices, thousands tramping the streets in despair; in our time all this had been forgotten, while the glory of war was still blazoned forth. So Europe would forget again, unmindful of the tragic spectacle of Russia sinking ever deeper into the pit, of Germany clinging desperately to the rotten branch of debased currency. But the lesson must at last be learned. "What I saw day by day in those war years," he concluded, "makes me vow that I will consecrate what is left of my energies to make it impossible that humanity shall in future have to pass through the fire, the torment, the sacrifice, the horror and the squalor of war."

French Cameroon and Belgian East Africa), but also the Class A mandates covering Palestine and French Syria. It also discussed and took action on the following matters, out of an agenda covering twenty-two items: the reduction of armaments, the treatment of minorities, especially in Poland, Upper Silesia and Turkey; the deportations from Asia Minor, the traffic in women and children, the opium traffic, disputes over boundaries and frontier raids by bandits, epidemics and the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In respect to disarmament, Rear Admiral Seagrave's proposal to extend the Washington Naval Treaty to the fifteen non-signatory powers was referred to the Permanent Consultation Commission. The results reached by the Disarmament Commission of the League, in sessions continuing since last February, confirmed and capped by new proposals made by Lord Esher and Lord Robert Cecil, and involving disarmament on a ratio basis for each country, as well as providing for mutual guarantees, were seriously debated, but action was deferred to the coming Assembly meeting in September. The general opinion expressed was that disarmament must be simultaneous, and must wait on the entrance into the League of all nations of the world, at least all the greater nations. Plans were discussed for the broadening of the League's arbitration activities.

A Commissioner was appointed on July 17 at the suggestion of Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General of the League, to inquire into the deportations of women and children from Turkey and Asia Minor. The Commissioner is to head a mixed board which will care for the victims, acting in close touch with the international commission organized by Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States. The Council at this same session decided to invite the United States and Germany to appoint members to the committee for the suppression of the white slave traffic. Various international measures for the protection of girls and women were approved. Proposals of the Opium Commission, of which Mrs. Hamilton Wright of Washington is assessor, providing for import and export licenses restricting the distribution of opium as an article of international commerce and suppression of the traffic by other means, were approved and adopted. Tang Tsai-tou, the Chinese Minister to Switzerland, protested against the charge of the commission that China, in defiance of her treaty obligations, was cultivating large tracts of the opium poppy. This, he declared, was being done by the military Governors of China for revenue, in defiance of the Chinese Government.

The Secretary General's report on the anti-epidemic resolutions passed by the Warsaw Health Conference, held under the auspices of the League, was adopted, and the gift of \$25,000 made by the American Red Cross, to be devoted to the control of epidemics, was appreciatively recorded. It was decided to ask Germany to appoint a member to the League's Health Committee. H. A. L. Fisher, one of the British members, stated on July 21 that the British Government had been advised that the danger from typhus and cholera spread by Russian immigration was increasing. The British Government

had expressed its willingness to approach Parliament to obtain financial assistance, though believing that something less than the £1,200,000 proposed by the Warsaw conference to fortify the sanitary cordon on the Polish frontier and the Black Sea would prove adequate. As regards Russia, the Council, after hearing an impressive report by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (July 20) on epidemic, crop and famine conditions in Russia, instructed the Secretariat to collect all available information for presentation at the next meeting of the Council, to enable it to decide whether or not it would approve Dr. Nansen's suggestion to send a special commission to Russia to ascertain the true situation.

Hungary stated her side of the boundary dispute with Austria over the Burgenland, and it was referred to the Secretariat for further examination. The frontier raids across the Bulgarian boundary into the territory of her neighbors were referred back to the parties interested for direct negotiations. Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece all asked that they be given an opportunity to solve the problem of these Bulgarian raids before the League intervened. The defense by M. Theodoroff, the Bulgarian representative, gave rise to a heated controversy at the session of July 18. Many other subjects were discussed and acted upon by the Council before the session ended.

THE LEAGUE MANDATES APPROVED

*Results of three years' efforts of the League of Nations Council—
Final approval of the mandates for Africa, Syria and Palestine*

THE League of Nations achieved what was generally regarded as the most important thing it has done since its creation, excepting solely the establishment of The Hague World Tribunal, when the League Council at its July sessions in London finally launched the long-delayed mandates project in its entirety. The action marked the culmination of three years' efforts and negotiations to institute the mandate system in the Pacific, in Southwest and Central Africa and Asia Minor, affecting the destinies of some 13,000,000 backward peoples.

Under the scheme as originally adopted under the Versailles Treaty there were three classes of mandates, known respectively as Class A (Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine); Class B (the African colonies), and Class C (Southwest Africa and the Pacific Islands). The C mandates, covering the former German possessions in the areas mentioned, were approved by the League Council at Geneva on Dec. 17, 1920. Strong protests made by the United States Government under the administration of President Wilson on Feb. 21, 1921 (subsequently renewed by President Harding on April 2, 1921), specifically against the confirmation of the Japanese mandates in the Pacific without reference to the rights of America, but applying generally to all the mandates, were met in a concilia-

tory spirit by the League Council in its reply of March of the same year, which promised to defer consideration of the mandates assigned until the United States could participate in the Council's discussions.

The failure of the United States to take advantage of this offer accounts for the long delay in carrying through the plan. Lengthy negotiations led to an understanding among the three main mandatory Powers, Japan, Great Britain and France (in the case of Japan by a special treaty covering the island of Yap, concluded just before the opening of the Washington conference), and so at last the League Council was able to take action at its nineteenth session in London. On July 18 the Class B mandates were approved; British Togoland, part of the Cameroons and the whole of former German East Africa were assigned to Great Britain; French Togoland and part of the Cameroons were assigned to France, and Belgian East Africa was assigned to Belgium. On July 22 the Class A mandates, embracing Syria (France) and Palestine (Great Britain) were confirmed.

At the session of July 18, when the B mandates were approved, Viscount Ishii outlined the changes from the original drafts as the result of negotiations with the United States. These changes made

more precise the prohibition of concessions of a monopolistic character, and the obligation to maintain complete freedom of conscience and equality of commercial opportunity for all. Lord Balfour announced that Great Britain had reached full agreement with the United States regarding both the B mandates and the mandate for Palestine, and also respecting the rights and privileges of missionaries in the mandate territories. In deference to the American view that these rights had been too limited, Great Britain had decided to replace the original provision by the clause used by the United States in its treaty with Japan concerning the island of Yap. This reads:

The mandatory shall insure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality. Missionaries who are nationals of States members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings, and to erect schools throughout the territory; it being understood, however, that the mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

Lord Balfour stated that the United States Government had been notified by cable of the emendation, and that both France and Belgium had accepted it.

The Class A mandates approved at the session of July 24 did not include the mandate for Irak (Mesopotamia), where Great Britain had set up a native Arab Kingdom under Emir Feisal. Lord Balfour had explained at the session of July 19 that, though otherwise in accord with the United States, Great Britain had not yet reached complete understanding with this country regarding Irak.

The other Class A mandates, covering French Syria, with Lebānon, and notably Palestine, were finally approved by the Council, after detailed and animated discussion, at the very end of its sessions. These mandates first came up at the session of July 19, and were discussed behind closed doors. The fact that the Syrian and Palestine mandates were discussed together was due to the French insistence at the Council meeting at Geneva in May that the mandate for Syria should be approved with that for Palestine. Decision was delayed, owing to the unsettled govern-

mental conditions in Italy, where the fall of Premier Facta's Cabinet was expected, and also because of the necessity of obtaining an agreement with the United States similar to that for Palestine. Italy's claims in Syria and Palestine were finally met by direct negotiations between Italy and Great Britain, and Italy and France, respectively. Only minor points respecting Italian schools, immigration and some economic features remained for settlement.

In urging the confirmation of the mandates, Lord Balfour said that their immediate adoption was imperatively needed in order to allay the agitation and unrest among the different racial elements in the mandate areas. This applied particularly to Palestine. The situation then may be briefly stated as follows: The announcement that Great Britain would undertake the Palestine mandate on behalf of the Jews met with strong Arab opposition from the start, the Arabs, representing a majority of the population, resenting the idea of Jewish domination. This feeling led them eventually to dispatch a special commission to London, to lay their claims before the British Government. The Arab delegation worked actively to put its case before the British Parliament and people, and intensified its efforts after the local publication in Palestine of the redrafted text of the proposed Constitution for the State of Palestine, which brought to Lloyd George a storm of protest from indignant Arab organizations in April and May. Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner for Palestine, went to London with the aim of conciliating the Arab representatives with Dr. Chaym Weizmann, President of the Zionist organization, after ten months of conflict, and to pave the way to co-operation between the two nations in the building up of Palestine. The Arab view was that the powers given the High Commissioner by the new draft were autocratic, and nationally humiliating to a people falling under a Class A mandate. It asked that an independent commission be sent to Palestine to report on the whole situation there, and meanwhile bent all its hopes on a rejection of the Palestine mandate by the British electorate.

These hopes at first seemed destined to be fulfilled. On June 21 an animated debate in the House of Lords culminated in

the rejection of the British mandate, notwithstanding the eloquent pleas of Lord Balfour for confirmation. This veteran statesman, sponsor for the whole project of a Jewish homeland under British protection, ridiculed all fears that the Zionists would usurp political power, or that any injustice would be done either to the Arabs or to any other minorities. The Lords, however, passed the Islington motion disapproving the Balfour declaration of 1917, under which Britain's willingness to take over the mandate was expressed. News of this rejection filled the non-Jewish population of Palestine, alike Arab and Christian, with joy; the native press exulted, Arab demonstrations were held, and the cables were swamped with congratulatory messages to the House of Lords. The text of the resolution passed by the Lords read thus:

The mandate for Palestine in its present form is unacceptable to this House, because it directly violates the pledges made by his Majesty's Government to the people of Palestine in the declaration of October, 1915, and again in the declaration of November, 1918 (pledges given to the Arabs), and is, as at present framed, opposed to the sentiments and wishes of the great majority of the people of Palestine. That, therefore, its acceptance by the Council of the League of Nations should be postponed until such modifications have therein been effected as will comply with pledges given by his Majesty's Government.

While the Arab press declared that this was the be-

ginning of the end of political Zionism, the Zionist leaders sent strong protests to London, and the London Chairman of the Zionist organization said:

All our hopes have been shattered on the rocks of political expediency. If the House of Commons follows the lead of the House of Lords, then the Jews of the world will have been dealt a more staggering blow than that administered by the Emperor Hadrian 1800 years ago, when his persecutions brought about the last dispersion of the Jewish race.

The Zionist gloom, however, was dispelled by the action of the House of Commons on July 4, upholding the mandate by a vote of 292 to 35. A strong anti-mandate speech by W. Joyson-Hicks was answered by Winston Churchill, the Colo-

Map of Palestine showing the present Jewish colonies and all the larger cities. The boundary line between Palestine and French Syria is indicated at the north



nial Secretary, who seized the occasion to defend the Rutenberg electrical concessions in Palestine, which the opponents of the mandate had repeatedly attacked, both on the ground of discrimination, Rutenberg being a Jew, and also because of his revolutionary activities under the Czar, leading to the murder of the Russian priest, Father Gapon. A two days' strike called by the Arabs ended uneventfully on July 14.

In addition to these varied vicissitudes, the sponsors of the British mandate were confronted by opposition from the Vatican, mainly over the question of the control of the Holy Places in Palestine, which the Pope made the object of strong representations. The Papal protests were published toward the middle of June. The Pope took the stand that the Jews must be given equal rights in Palestine, but nothing more, and that the rights of Christians and Christian property, including the Holy Places, must be thoroughly safeguarded. He especially protested against the interests of Roman Catholics being referred to a mixed commission to be created under Article 14 of the mandate, unless Catholic representatives were appoint-

ed, and further urged that the control of churches in Palestine be administered by representatives of the religion to which they have long been assigned. Early in July the British Government sent the Pope assurances that all Catholic and other religious rights would be fully safeguarded. The revision of this article gave rise to considerable dissension in the League Council prior to adoption of the mandate, but the article was subsequently stated to have been modified to meet all desires. The composition and competency of the mixed commission was to be determined by Great Britain before the next session of the League Assembly in September.

The adoption of the Palestine mandate was hailed with joy by the Zionists, and Dr. Chaym Weizmann, addressing the annual conference of English Zionists in London on July 24, said: "We are grateful because this historic event happened in our time, and we are bound to express our gratitude to the League of Nations, to the British Government and people, to the American Government and people, and to the Earl of Balfour, the author of the British Government's pledge of 1917, which bears his name."

AN INTERPRETER EXTRAORDINARY

THE British Buddhist Mission to Tibet, which left London on July 14, 1922, included on its technical staff as guide and interpreter one Dr. W. M. McGovern, a most extraordinary character, as romantic in his way as Colonel Lawrence, the "uncrowned King of the Hedjaz," who helped the British to win the war against Turkey in Arabia. Younger even than Colonel Lawrence—a slim, gentle-mannered boy of 24—Dr. McGovern matches that youthful British archaeologist's lore in other and even more exotic fields, and his career is no less amazing. Of Northern Irish stock, he was born at sea. In his early 'teens he made his way to Japan, following the lure of the East, and, obeying the urge of some inner mysticism, entered the great Buddhist Temple at Kyoto, the Nishi Hongwani, in architecture and decoration one of the wonders of the East. There he

lived for years the austere and studious life of the Buddhist neophyte, steeped himself in both the Japanese and Chinese classics, and especially in Buddhist lore, and before he was 20 years of age took a degree which entitled him to priestly dignity. Dr. McGovern is the only living Englishman who holds the unique status of a Buddhist priest. A master of the Japanese and Chinese languages, speaking and writing Tibetan; a scholar of Sanskrit and Pali, the dead languages of Asia; a recognized authority on Buddhism, on which he has written many books and papers; author of an illuminating book on Japan, published two years ago; thoroughly familiar with Tibet, which he entered some years ago with a caravan of Lamaist pilgrims from Mongolia—he left London virtually as the scientific head of this expedition.

THE NEW UNDERSTANDING WITH MEXICO

By HENRY WOODHOUSE

Author of "Dominant Factors Affecting International Relations," "The Struggle for the World's Oil Resources" and other books

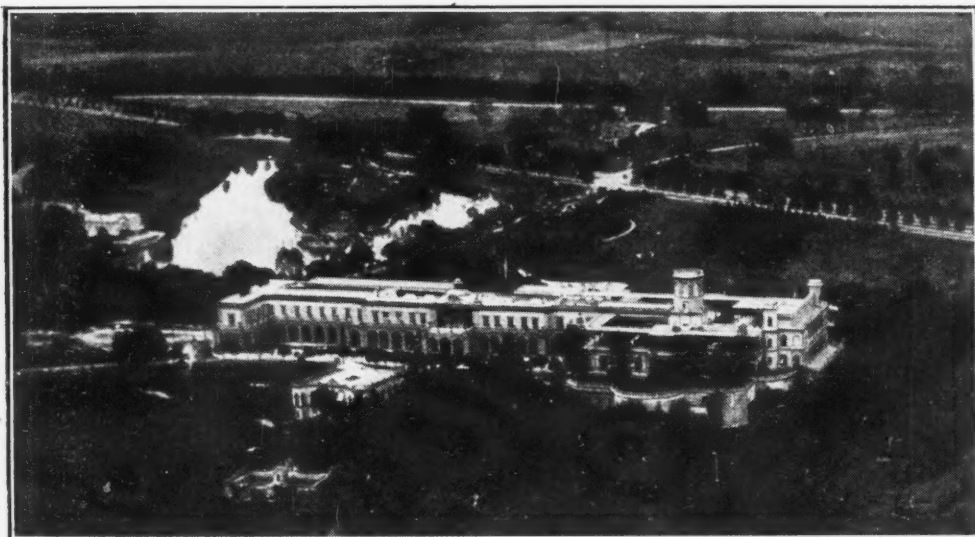
How diplomacy has removed all but one of the main points in dispute—Settlement of issues affecting oil and banking interests—Reaching an accord without infringing Mexico's sovereignty

THE fact that Mexico last year bought American goods to the amount of \$225,000,000 from the United States and will no doubt buy three times as much each year as soon as Mexico is recognized, combined with the fact that in the past years Mexico supplied to the United States the millions of barrels of petroleum required to make up the deficiencies due to excess consumption over production in the United States, added to the fact that Mexico occupies, like Canada, the position of a neighbor, makes it evident that there is hardly any international question more important to the United States than the Mexican question.

Fortunately, during the last year, and especially during the last few months, events have solved most of the outstanding

problems and, in so far as the matter of American recognition of Mexico is concerned, have resolved what was a many-sided question into a single problem.

On Aug. 4 Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes announced that the Department of State had received and was translating from Spanish into English the text of the five decisions of the Mexican Supreme Court, declaring Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution non-retroactive. The fifth decision, completing the number required by Mexican legal practice to adjudicate and establish the provisions of Article 27 as non-retroactive, was rendered on May 12, in the action brought against the Department of Industry and Commerce of Mexico by the Tanuahu Oil Company. The Supreme Court for the fifth time held



Airplane view of the Castle of Chapultepec, President Obregon's official residence, near Mexico City

(Photo © Scientific Age, Inc.)

as valid the rights to leases legally acquired by foreigners prior to the adoption of the new Constitution, thereby removing this grave obstacle which has stood in the way of United States recognition of the Obregon Government. All five decisions were rendered in less than two years. Their finality cannot be doubted. The eleven Mexican Judges sitting in the Supreme Court which handed down these decisions were elected by ballot of the Mexican Congress,

The nation shall have at all times the right to impose on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand, as well as the right to regulate the development of natural resources, which are susceptible of appropriations, in order to conserve them and equitably to distribute the public wealth. For this purpose necessary measures shall be taken to divide large landed estates; to develop small landed holdings; to establish new centres of rural population with such lands and waters as may be indispensable to them; to encourage agriculture and to prevent the destruction of natural resources, and to protect property from damage



GENERAL
ALVARO
OBREGON

President
of Mexico

under Article 96 of the Constitution, which provides that

The members of the Supreme Court of Justice shall be chosen by the Congress, acting as an electoral college; the presence of at least two-thirds of the total number of Representatives and Senators shall be necessary for such action. The election shall be by secret ballot and by a majority vote, and shall be held as among the candidates previously proposed, one being nominated by each State Legislature, as provided in the respective State laws. Should no candidate receive a majority on the first ballot, the balloting shall be repeated between the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes.

These decisions were based on Article 14 of the Constitution, which provides that

No law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever.

The main problem has thus been settled. There are others of less importance still to be settled in connection with the condemnation of lands under the following clauses of Article 27 of the Constitution:

Private property shall not be expropriated except for reasons of public utility and by means of indemnification.

detrimental to society.

* * * Private property acquired for the said purpose shall be considered as taken for public utility.

In the nation is vested direct ownership of all minerals or substances which in veins, layers, masses or beds constitute deposits whose nature is different from the components of the land, such as minerals from which metals and metaloids used for industrial purposes are extracted; beds of precious stones, rock salt and salt lakes formed directly by marine waters, products derived from the decomposition of rocks, when their exploitation requires underground work; phosphates which may be used for fertilizers; solid mineral fuels; petroleum and all hydrocarbons—solid, liquid or gaseous.

These clauses aim to right the wrongs committed in the past against what President Wilson in 1914 characterized as "the submerged 85 per cent. of the people of that republic who are now struggling toward liberty." They are in the Constitution because *the United States Government assisted in having them inserted*. In the statement of policy made public in May, 1914, through an interview printed

in *The Saturday Evening Post*, President Wilson said:

It is a curious thing that every demand for the establishment of order in Mexico takes into consideration, not order for the benefit of the people of Mexico, the great mass of the population, but order for the benefit of the old-time régime, for the aristocrats, for the vested interests, for the men who are responsible for this very condition of disorder. No one asks for order because order will help the masses of the people to get a portion of their rights and their land; but all demand it so that the great owners of property, the overlords, the *hidalgos*, the men who have exploited that rich country for their own selfish purposes, shall be able to continue their processes undisturbed by the protests of the people from whom their wealth and power have been obtained. * * *

They want order—the old order; but I say to you that the old order is dead. It is my part, as I may be able, that the new order, which will have its foundation on human liberty and human rights, shall prevail.

The specific points expressing the United States policy regarding Mexico, as stated by President Wilson at the time,

1. The United States will not seek to gain a foot of Mexican territory in any way or under any pretext. When we have finished with Mexico, Mexico will be territorially intact.

2. No personal aggrandizement by American investors or adventurers or capitalists, or exploitation of that country, will be permitted. Legitimate business interests that seek to develop rather than exploit will be encouraged.

A typical Mexican irrigation reservoir, from which the water is distributed over the surrounding ranches

3. A settlement of the agrarian land question by constitutional means—such as that followed in New Zealand, for example—will be insisted on. * * *

It is not my intention, having begun this enterprise, to turn back—unless I am forced to do so—until I have assurances that the great and crying wrongs the people have endured are in process of satisfactory adjustment. * * * And eventually I shall fight every one of these men who are now seeking and who will then be seeking to exploit Mexico for their own selfish ends. I shall do what I can to keep Mexico from their plundering. There shall be no individual exploitation of Mexico if I can stop it.

FRIENDSHIP PROMOTED LOCALLY

While the Mexican Supreme Court was considering these cases, during the last two years, numerous schemes to upset the Obregon Government were being promoted in the United States and elsewhere. But this was offset by the constructive action and business enterprise of the States of Texas, California, Arizona, Oklahoma, Michigan, Illinois and Kentucky and by the municipalities and commercial bodies of Houston, St. Louis, New Orleans, Boston, Philadelphia and other American cities.

But for the constructive work of these States, cities and commercial bodies the bulk of the Mexican trade for 1921 would undoubtedly have gone to the twenty-four nations who had recognized the Obregon Administration, because until the United States recognizes the Obregon Govern-



ment Mexico has no legal standing and cannot get justicial protection in American courts; therefore it is extremely risky for Mexico to do business here. The story of how this constructive work was done is interesting for many reasons, but especially because it was done in such a practical way and was successful in spite of serious obstacles.

Twenty-eight nations have recognized the Obregon Government, including Argentina, Brazil, Japan, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Holland, Sweden and China.

The States and cities referred to noted soon after the election of Obregon that the buying power of the Mexican Nation increased in jumps and that the other nations had hastened to send their representatives to Mexico City to bid for Mexican business. Being industrial States and cities with enterprising Executives, they hastened to act, some of their actions taking practical form, as follows:

1. They sent committees and representatives to Mexico to visit the Mexican business centres to investigate and find out what the actual conditions were.

2. Having found that the conditions

were satisfactory, they presented the facts to their Legislatures in the case of States and to their Executives and committees in the case of cities, Chambers of Commerce and commercial bodies, and suitable resolutions were adopted giving the facts regarding the remarkable progress in stabilizing Mexico made by the Obregon Government and urging the United States to recognize it. These resolutions were transmitted to President Harding, the Department of State, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Senators and representatives of the States where these resolutions were adopted.

3. Pending consideration of their resolutions, they took direct action to establish business relations with Mexico.

For instance, the Chamber of Commerce of San Antonio, Texas, organized a Mexican Trade Bureau, and the directors of this bureau visited the following cities, calling on the Chambers of Commerce, the principal merchants and bankers of Laredo, Cordoba, Durango, Mexico City, Orizabo, Aguascalientes, San Luis Potosi, Puebla, Guadalajara, Tampico, Jalapa, Saltillo, Monterey, Vera Cruz and Torreon. The Mexican authorities, bankers and business men were delighted to receive him, and there were many exchanges of courtesy. Since then they have been calling on the

View of a thriving Mexican farm, where the ox-carts and solid wooden wheels of a generation ago have given place to horses and more modern vehicles



San Antonio Chamber of Commerce for business advice and guidance in purchasing supplies ranging in importance from the sands of pairs of shoes to steam clothes-pressing machines and railway rolling stock and supplies.

It is significant that similar actions by States, cities and commercial bodies brought to the United States Mexican business in the amount of \$225,000,000 during the year 1921, notwithstanding the obstacle created by the fact that, until the United States recognizes the Obregon Government, Mexico has no protection here in business matters. It shows that Mexicans trust American business people and American business people are not taking advantage of the Mexicans, and augurs well for the future relations of the two sister republics.

PRAISE FOR OBREGON

I have before me as I write several hundred expressions from representative American States, cities, commercial bodies and business men expressing their praises for the Obregon Administration's able Government, making me realize that it is hard to summarize the true situation. I will quote some of these expressions, which are representative of hundreds of others.

Maynard McFie, President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, says:

Our country has been misled by the impressions that have been given of Mexico for the past ten years. We have heard only the bad side. We should make it our business to learn something of the good side. Our own country developed broader ideals and better understanding through its civil strife and was united for the best interests of all. We had first a Washington and then a Lincoln. If Obregon lives up to his promise, he will be the Lincoln of Mexico and will proceed with a reconstruction program that will immortalize his Administration.

A resolution passed by the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce states:

The present Chief Executive has apparently won the support of most elements—at least he has eliminated a great amount of the distrust and suspicion that finally became so detrimental in other Administrations. It is realized that any Government established has a colossal task in bringing about peaceful pursuits and uninterrupted commercial intercourse after ten years of turmoil, but, from what we observed, the present official, of all the ten since Diaz, comes nearest of any of them to embodying the qualifications for this difficult leadership to peace and happiness.

President Obregon's efforts so far look toward a unity of most of the factions; he seems democratic, and in all his actions is pro-American—remembering in this, however, that he has the sovereignty of a nation to maintain.

E. H. Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation, in a toast at Mexico City, said:

Permit me as a citizen of the United States to offer a toast to the health of President Obregon, hoping that he will preserve his vigor and energy for the progress of Mexico. I congratulate the Mexican people on the splendid Administration which they now have, and I express the wish that the relations between the United States and Mexico may constantly become more cordial, to the mutual benefit of the Mexican and American people.

The resolutions adopted by the Legislatures of the different States all express strong faith in President Obregon's Administration and urge the prompt recognition of the Republic of Mexico by the Government of the United States.

SETTLING THE OIL QUESTION

Petroleum will go down in history as the great liberator which freed Mexico from financial servitude. The civilized world owes a great deal to petroleum; but Mexico owes probably more than any other nation. But for her huge oil resources, which are estimated to be worth over \$4,000,000,000, not including unexplored oil lands covering 1,500,000 acres, Mexico would probably have had to submit to the hard terms of various interests that sought to get economic control of the country.

I secured evidence of the efforts of interests of different countries to grab Mexico's resources in 1917-18, when I was asked to prepare an extensive report for President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker, and in connection with the preparation of the report I studied the oil situation and examined a mass of data in the possession of various government departments. Carranza was President at the time, and his Administration was recognized and supported by the United States. This obstructed the schemes of those who sought to use the power and influence of the United States to coerce the Mexican Government. The fall of Carranza and the change of Administration in the United States, however, gave new hope to those

whose high-handed schemes the Wilson Administration had finally succeeded in checking.

Only a few of the oil corporations operating in Mexico have attempted to plunder Mexico. But those few often spoke in the name of all, and in many cases foreign oil corporations used American affiliations, so as to be able to appeal to our Department of State.

The putting into effect of the new Mexican Constitution and the enforcing of new and high oil taxes created a cause for all oil corporations to object. An association was then formed to represent all the American and British oil corporations in fighting the issue, using all means possible—which implies a great deal when applied to dealing with Mexico. Backed by strong banking houses and supported by the policy of non-interference adopted by their Governments, the oil interests demanded, in effect, the abrogation of the Mexican Constitution and of the oil tax laws. The arguments of those who objected in good faith, without ulterior motives, were sound—though the aims of those who had ulterior motives were clearly to plunder Mexico, as they had planned to do under the Carranza Administration.

In the Mexican Presidential election the group representing American, British, French and Dutch oil interests backed Robles Dominguez in his candidacy for the Presidency, but at the Presidential elections of Sept. 5, 1920, Obregon was elected by 1,131,751 votes, while Dominguez only polled 47,442 votes.

Among other things, the Obregon Administration inherited a new Constitution, adopted in 1917, at the Constitutional Convention held at Queretaro. This instrument had been framed with a view of protecting the Mexican people from certain specific evils and of bettering the economic and social conditions of the country. The people can give, and the people can take away, and a wise Executive obeys the Constitution as it has been adopted by the people until it has been changed. James Madison expressed his opinion on the subject as follows:

My idea of the sovereignty of the people is that they can change the Constitution, if they please; but, while the Constitution exists, they must conform themselves to its dictates.

Most people have a high regard for the Constitution of any country, and therefore no greater commendation could be advanced for the Obregon Administration than to accuse it of refusing to violate the Constitution of its own country. As the Mexican people had been mercilessly exploited in the past, they rallied around Obregon, and every accusation against him on this score gave him greater popular strength.

The Constitution of Mexico provides that the President may directly originate legislation. This fact led to efforts on the part of many international bankers and promoters to "reach" General Obregon personally and get him to originate preferential legislation, but he refused—and incurred the enmity of some and the respect of many thereby. Fortunately for him, Article 92 of the Constitution provides that "all regulations, decrees and orders of the President must be signed by the Secretary of the Department charged with the dependent office to which the matter belongs, and without this requisite shall not be obeyed." This proved to be a safeguard that prevented a great deal of trouble, as it was intended to do.

SPLIT IN THE OIL ASSOCIATION

Until the heads of the large American oil companies took the matter in hand personally, the oil group was pledged to a definite policy of overthrowing the Obregon Government, and that Government rigidly stuck to its policy of enforcing the payment of the high oil tax in gold. The situation reached a crisis in the early part of 1921, but the Obregon Government did not fall under the terrific assaults of the combined interests, which, acting through agents and associations, sought to start revolutions and to bring about American intervention. The heads of the large oil corporations soon found that the methods of the agents of groups and associations only led to trouble, and they decided to negotiate directly with the Obregon Government.

The British Cowdray oil group, which has for over ten years fought the Standard Oil group for the ascendancy in the control of the Mexican oil resources, saw that it could gain more by dealing with the

Obregon Government than by its arrangement with the American oil associations, and proceeded to do so. It seceded from the American Association of Oil Companies. The effect of this secession was described by Secretary Fall of the Department of the Interior, in a letter to Senator Lodge, in which he said:

British oil interests are giving every assurance to Obregon and Mexican officials of their support and friendly co-operation, seeking advantage against or over American companies, while the British Government, owning this oil company, is ostensibly standing by the United States Government in its action.

The heads of large American oil companies then took charge of the situation. The new oil tax is much higher than the old one, but at that the final cost of Mexican oil is much lower than American oil, and the companies make a substantial profit from operating in Mexico under that tax. It was desirable, however, for the oil group and for the United States, where so much of the Mexican oil goes, to have the oil tax reduced if possible. After much discussion and many attempts to coerce the Obregon Administration into doing what would probably have precipitated a new revolution, the oil interests took a practical step—they went to Mexico to meet Obregon.

A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE

The group of oil executives that went to Mexico in August, 1921, included Walter C. Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum group; Harry F. Sinclair, Chairman of the Sinclair Consolidated Corporation; J. W. Van Dyke, President of the Atlantic Refining Company, and Amos L. Beatty, President of the Texas Company. They were met at San Luis Potosi on Aug. 28 by representatives of Obregon, and the conferences began while they were on their way to Mexico City, where they met Adolfo de la Huerta, Secretary of the Treasury. On Aug. 30 they met President Obregon, and by Sept. 3 they had reached an agreement, settling all the difficulties to everybody's satisfaction and removing this question entirely.

The agreement reached by the oil men and the Obregon Administration provided

that the oil men could pay the new oil taxes with Mexican defaulted bonds, which they could purchase in New York and elsewhere at a low price, but which the Mexican Treasury would accept at par. The Mexican 5 per cent. bonds were then selling at about \$40 with coupons attached and represented a par value of \$135 with the seven years' interest represented by the attached coupons; therefore the oil men would really only pay less than one-third of the taxes.

This arrangement suited the oil men perfectly, and they were unanimous in feeling that the problem had been settled to their own satisfaction; but just then the international bankers stepped in and told both the Mexican Government and the oil men that the bankers would not allow any such arrangement.

ATTITUDE OF THE BANKERS

Practically all the various Mexican bond issues that were sold in Europe in the past were acquired by the European Governments and have been given to the international bankers as collateral for loans arranged by these bankers, so that the bankers had acquired a very large part of the various Mexican bond issues at an extremely low figure and expected to make a handsome profit by forcing the Obregon Government to accept them at par, and herein was the difficulty. The bankers wanted to make this large profit and did not wish the oil people to make it or any part of it. They had a convincing argument in their claim that it would be unethical to acquire these bonds from the public at so low a price. They insisted that the Obregon Government must first agree to refund the Mexican debt, recognizing all bond issues at par and defaulted interest, and requested that the gentleman's agreement between the oil companies and the Mexican Government be abrogated.

After a period of uncertainty, during which some of the oil companies paid the taxes under protest, the heads of the large oil concerns again went to Mexico City, and an agreement was reached which seems satisfactory to all. Many oil companies bought defaulted bonds in large quantities at low prices, and, by using them to pay taxes, the Mexican Government accepting them at par, the oil men's taxes were con-

siderably reduced. Instead of insisting on payment of taxes on the oil as produced and prepared for shipment, the Mexican Government decreed that the export tax would have to be paid only when the oil was loaded on ships. The tax amounts to approximately 10 per cent. of the market price. This is in addition to the regular tax, which averages from 4.93 cents per barrel for heavy crude oil to under 8 cents per barrel for light crude oil.

One of the difficulties in fixing the tax on exports of Mexican crude and fuel oil was to fix the valuation of the oil and for different grades of oil. The method adopted is to base the tax on the prevailing price at New York during the month preceding that in which the oil is shipped. This solved the problem of fixing the amount of back taxes for oil already exported, the tax on which had not been paid. Prior to that time the oil men only knew the amount of tax they would have to pay after the Mexican Government had fixed the value of the oil. Now they know it in advance.

Prior to 1917 the oil men paid their taxes once a month, at the end of the month. As the payments had to be made in gold dollars toward the end of the month the gold dollars were at a premium and the oil people were involved in losses of from 1 to 3 per cent. This problem has been solved by an arrangement whereby the oil men pay the taxes every ten days. The demand for and the circulation of the gold dollars is constant, and the oil men are not experiencing difficulties in getting them.

An understanding was also reached between the oil executives and the Secretary of Finance, Adolfo de la Huerta, regarding the conditions to be considered as a basis for future exploitations and the opening of new oil fields in Mexico, to insure unbroken production to the corporations that have made large investments and have extensive plants in Mexico.

THE DEBT QUESTION SETTLED

I had the opportunity of following at close range the negotiations which led to the signing of the agreement on June 16, 1922, between the international bankers and the Mexican Finance Minister, Adolfo de la Huerta. That agreement settled what

was generally accepted as being the outstanding obstacle in the way of recognition of Mexico by the United States, Great Britain and France. It only required two weeks to complete this agreement, involving approximately \$700,000,000.

The bankers, like the oil men, had learned to discount the promises of those who thought it easy to start revolutions and overthrow the Obregon Government. After twelve brief sessions the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico and the Mexican Finance Minister, Adolfo de la Huerta, reached an agreement which settled the eight-year-old question involving the Mexican external and internal debt, amounting to \$700,000,000 in round figures.

The basis for agreement was reached in a little more than a week, which is a record time for such a large and complicated matter. Another week was spent in checking up the points agreed on, and then the agreement was put in writing.

While the negotiations were going on, Felix Diaz, from his hiding place in New Jersey, assisted by various interests, directed a terrific fight to prevent the agreement from being reached. All the Mexican effectives on the revolutionary side concentrated fire on the New York offices of the Mexican Financial Commission at 120 Broadway and on the State Department at Washington. Imposing proclamations signed by leaders of the Mexican revolution were being passed around among the international bankers to convince them that it would be unwise to accept the counter-terms proposed by Mr. de la Huerta for refunding the Mexican debt. The revolutionists promised everything that the Mexican Finance Minister declined to concede.

The bankers watched the struggle with the same keen interest that a military observer feels in watching a decisive battle between the armies of two nations. They weighed Mr. de la Huerta's able arguments against the claims of Felix Diaz and his associates, and the latter's chances of being able to obtain control of the Mexican Government and make good his promises. Finally, looking at the facts from a cold business standpoint, they decided in favor of Obregon.

The Mexican Finance Minister, who is six feet tall and has an imposing person-

ality, and his able associates were equal to every occasion. They remained unruffled by the broadsides of the Diaz faction and the crossfire of the various hostile and critical interests, and convinced the two hundred American and foreign bankers, representing the trustees and holders of the various Mexican bond issues, that the Mexican economic situation was not only sound, but better than that of most other countries.

Following are some of the most important announcements made by Mr. de la Huerta during the twelve sessions:

1. The Mexican Supreme Court has just rendered a final decision declaring Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution unretroactive. Therefore that great obstacle, due to fear of different Governments that the properties of their nationals might be confiscated, has been removed.

2. The total Mexican National debt is only a little over \$700,000,000, or about \$200,000,000 less than had been anticipated, and figures out at a total per capita of less than \$50, the population of Mexico being upward of 15,000,000 people. No other nation has so small a per capita debt with such large marketable national resources.

3. Mexico bought in the United States last year—and paid for in gold—merchandise amounting to \$225,000,000, and the Obregon Government received memorials which were adopted by the legislative and commercial bodies of California, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Oklahoma, Arizona and other States and transmitted to President Harding, the Department of State and Congress, urging recognition of the Obregon Government. These memorials convinced many bankers.

4. The Mexican railroad debt is \$160,000,000 less than had been estimated, there being that amount of bonds unissued which were thought to have been issued.

5. Mexico has cash resources, and is ready to agree to pay \$35,000,000 a year to meet her obligation, and will pay it if and when the bankers representing the trustees and holders of the various bond issues will agree between themselves on a plan for refunding which does not exact from Mexico for a number of years more than her assured cash resources permit.

6. The liabilities to Mexican banks that had been taken over by the Federal Government during the revolution are found to have been only a fraction of what had been estimated, due to the restitutions already made by the Obregon Administration during the past two years.

7. While admitting frankly that the Mexican per-capita taxation is the lowest of all the nations of the world, the Obregon Administration refuses unequivocally to raise the taxes for the purpose of meeting interest on a refunding plan, the policy stated being that Mexican citizens need their cash resources to help in building Mexican industries and Mexican commerce. It is

pointed out that the moneys that would be paid in taxes to pay interest on the national debt will now be spent by the Mexicans themselves in trade, buying products and merchandise from the different countries represented by the bankers.

8. The oil tax dispute was definitely settled last April and May, and, like the matter of interpretation of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, no longer is a question to be considered by the bankers, although the Finance Minister was willing further to discuss certain aspects of the oil situation cited by bankers and oil companies.

9. Mexico has done everything asked by the various countries; it has appointed the mixed commission to consider the claims for damages sustained by the nationals of different countries during the revolution, and has already settled a number of such claims; Mexico has already appointed Ambassadors to the first-class countries, and Ministers, Representatives and Consuls to the others.

10. Mexico does not question the bankers as to how little they paid for the bonds they hold. It is known that the majority were bought at prices below \$39 per bond, although the coupons covering the unpaid interest, extending over an average period of eight years, make the face value of these bonds about \$135 per bond on the average. If these bonds should be redeemed at face value the bankers would make a net profit of about \$150,000,000.

Two hundred banks, representing the original trustees for the Mexican bond issues and the present bondholders, were represented at the twelve conferences held from June 1, when the conference began, to July 16, when the agreement was signed. The first conference was held at the Executive Committee rooms of the New York Chamber of Commerce. Thereafter there were conferences held at the rooms of the Mexican Finance Commission, 120 Broadway. The "Morgan group," comprising J. P. Morgan & Co. and partners, the Guaranty Trust Company, the National City Bank and their subsidiaries and associated banks, dominated the conference. The Morgan group is part of and shares in the international bankers' group which, as represented at the Mexican conferences, includes British, French, Belgian, Swiss, German and Dutch bankers. The British bankers' representatives were "paired" to J. P. Morgan & Co. and acted on pre-arranged plans agreed upon at the preliminary Paris and London conferences.

The most powerful group of independent American bankers who counteracted

the Morgan influence at the conferences was that headed by Mortimer L. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and James Speyer of Speyer & Co., who were trustees for some of the largest Mexican bond issues.

I talked to a number of representatives of these independent American bankers during the conference and found everywhere a considerable amount of assurance that the Mexican financial question would be settled quickly.

The agreement between the bankers and Mr. de la Huerta allows a certain amount of elasticity, but in a general way its basis is as follows:

The plan of adjustment relates to all external Mexican Government debts, direct or guaranteed, the National Railways debt and certain so-called internal Government debts largely held outside Mexico; the total face value of the securities covered being over \$500,000,000 gold, on which the interest in arrears amounts to approximately \$200,000,000.

This \$700,000,000 includes Mexico's direct debt and guaranteed railroad bonds, totaling approximately \$322,000,000 gold; the railroad debt, not guaranteed, amounting to about \$230,000,000 back interest on bonds, and railroad debt amounting to about \$115,000,000; sinking fund defaults amounting to about \$28,000,000.

As to current interest, cash payments, in varying proportions among the different bond issues, are to be begun after Jan. 2, 1923, out of a special fund as provided for in the agreement; the schedule of disbursements in general to be based on the relative values and priorities of the different issues of bonds. For such part of current interest as is not in cash, scrip will be issued and redeemed in due course, certain bonds being made available for this purpose.

The special fund for current interest will be increased each year until Jan. 1, 1928, when full service of the debt will be resumed. The oil export taxes and a surcharge on railway gross receipts will be paid into this special fund.

As to back interest, all cash payments are to be waived. The matter will be arranged by the deposit of overdue coupons with a trustee. Against these coupons receipts will be issued, to be amortized without interest over a period of time. This arrangement is, in effect, equivalent to cancellation of a part of the back interest.

As to the railways, they are to be operated by private management as before the revolution. The Government will assume by indorsement all railway debt not previously guaranteed. The rights of foreclosure hitherto held by the bonds will be suspended so long as the plan is being carried out, thereby protecting both the stock ownership of the Mexican Government and other shareholders, as well as the ultimate rights of the bondholders.

In general, in order to give time for full re-

sumption of all cash obligations, all classes of bondholders are to agree to temporary suspension of sinking fund rights during a five-year period, after which all contract clauses will again become effective.

The late unrecognized "President" Victoriano Huerta, during his brief career, floated a bond issue of £6,000,000 in Europe for the purpose of financing his revolution and to pay for arms bought to arm outlaws—who used them to kill Mexican and American people and to destroy Mexican and American property. There were three series of this bond issue, designated as A, B, and C Series, and the bankers had formerly insisted that the three series, amounting to about \$30,000,000, be recognized. Mexico refused. At the New York conference the bankers agreed to forego their claims on Series C, ascertained to have been the series used to buy the guns and ammunition that enabled Huerta's outlaws to kill Americans and Mexicans during Huerta's régime. Series A and B are to be recognized.

THE LAST BIG PROBLEM

Briefly summarized, the last of the big problems standing in the way of accord between Mexico and the United States is as follows:

On one side, to protect American investments amounting to about \$20,000,000,000 and the lives of several thousand Americans abroad, our Department of State has adopted a policy which requires that certain countries, Mexico included, give guarantees regarding such protection. On the other side, to protect themselves from predatory tendencies of Mexican and foreign monopolistic interests, the Mexican people, after a series of revolutions, adopted a new Constitution designed to nationalize Mexico's valuable mineral resources, to abolish unlawful monopolies, and to nationalize or distribute among the people of Mexico the lands and resources which had been grabbed, whether unlawfully or under the forms of law, by a comparatively small number of individuals and corporations.

The provisions of the Constitution which were objected to by some of the capitalists were framed to protect Mexico from the clutches of the landed aristocracy,

and to guard against land monopolies; and, in view of the opinion rendered by the Supreme Court of Mexico, these provisions are not to be interpreted in a way to make them confiscatory. This great question, therefore, is now settled. It is significant that the decision of the Supreme Court forbidding retroactive action in nationalizing petroleum deposits is based on Article 14 of the same Constitution which provides that no law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any persons whatsoever. The decision itself reflects the absolute fairness of the Supreme Court of Mexico.

THE PROPOSED TREATY

In saying that the last big problem in the way of accord between the United States and Mexico is our State Department's demand that Mexico execute a "treaty of amity and commerce" before she is recognized, I must add that a number of questions attached to this treaty have already been disposed of and some of the less important are mainly academic.

For instance, the "religious clause," giving

Americans the same right to own religious property in Mexico as they have in the United States, which was an obstacle for many months, was finally omitted from the proposed treaty, the State Department receding from its position when it became evident that the Obregon Government would not enter into any agreement containing provisions violating the spirit and letter of the Constitution. The "religious clause" violated Article 28 of the Constitution, which prohibits exemption from taxation such as is enjoyed by religious bodies in the United States. It also violated Clause 2 of Article 27 of



Popocatepetl, Mexico's famous snow-capped volcano, photographed from an airplane



Glimpse of one of Mexico's great corn fields, where the thriving crop indicates the fertility of the soil

—(Photo by C. K. Frankhauser)

the Constitution, which provides that all property of religious bodies shall be vested in the nation. The provisions had been included in the Constitution especially to preclude certain political evils to which Mexico has been subject. The American demands in this respect were based on broad principles which would have been acceptable if the social, political and economic status of Mexico had been more like that of the United States.

There were other points at which the proposed treaty clashed with the Constitution. The State Department feared that the States which form the United States of Mexico might seek to enforce independent laws of a confiscatory nature. The proposed treaty had a clause seeking to safeguard that point. When this clause came up for discussion, the Mexican Government pointed out that various constituent States of the United States of America had land laws which exclude foreigners from owning properties, and that our Federal Government itself could not carry out the reciprocal arrangement implied in that

clause in the States which have adopted such laws. The usual practice in such matters is for the nations to agree in principle, subject to the provisions of their respective Constitutions and existing laws.

The guarantees expected by the United States as regards adequate compensation to the owners of lands that are being expropriated, as provided by the agrarian laws, depend largely on good faith being maintained on both sides. The Obregon Government has thus far used Government bonds to pay owners whose lands have been expropriated. Lacking faith in the Mexican Government, one may hold that the bonds are of little value, but this extreme viewpoint is untenable if the tremendous natural wealth of Mexico is considered against the comparatively small national debt, which figures at less than \$50 per capita, and the low taxation.

There are several such obstacles still in the way of the proposed "treaty of amity and commerce"; but more difficult problems have been solved in the past, and no doubt a way will be found to solve these.

NINE YEARS OF STRIKES IN THE UNITED STATES

STATISTICS of the Department of Labor in Washington show that between Jan. 1, 1913, and Dec. 31, 1921, the number of strikes and lockouts in the United States was about 23,100, and by the end of 1922 the number is expected to reach 26,000. Records for the period of 1906 to 1912 are not available, but during the quarter century of 1881 to 1905, the total number of strikes and lockouts was 25,353 and the number of persons involved 6,715,000. Thus the strikes of the last ten years exceed those of the twenty-five in question, while the number of persons involved is nearly three times as many, being about

18,500,000. Of the 23,100 strikes recorded in the last nine years more than 14,000 were in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey and Connecticut. Among the cities New York heads the list with 2,196 for six years, or 366 a year. Chicago comes next with an average of 104 a year. The largest number of strikes in the last six years affected the building trades, 2,700 having been called; the metal unions had 2,600; the clothing industry, 2,000; the miners 1,400, the textile unions 1,250, while the steam and electric transportation unions had 1,200.

INCREASE OF ARMAMENT IN SOUTH AMERICA

By STEPHEN BONSAI

Danger in the large purchases of war equipment by the republics south of Panama—Brazil's standing army greater now than those of all the other South American nations together

BEFORE this scant survey of conditions south of Panama is published, Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, will doubtless have crossed the equator and steamed into Rio. He will see a great city dressed in gala array—next to New York incontestably the most magnificent port in the world. And then the cables, which are so generally close-mouthed or even absolutely dumb as to the course of events on the other side of the Equator, will reproduce for us the very terms with which the distinguished representative of America will salute our fellow-republicans of Brazil on the auspicious occasion of the great anniversary day which he will find them celebrating in the South Atlantic metropolis with all the picturesque display and deep inward fervor which characterize a great subtropical community.

It should not be argued that after all Mr. Hughes is but following in the footsteps of at least two of his distinguished predecessors, or that a visit to the great and growing countries south of Panama has become obligatory upon the Premier of the Cabinet charged with the daily conduct of our foreign relations, which admittedly are not as simple as they were until quite recently. This is by no means a routine visit, and it is especially opportune because now more than ever before conditions prevailing in Latin America require the careful consideration of all well-wishers for the prosperity of both the northern and southern divisions of the continent, and because more and more these shared conditions and interests are becoming inseparable. Arriving as he will at the beautiful haven that is his destination at a moment when Rio forces itself upon the world horizon as a world city and a great centre of trade,

commerce and culture, he will see at a glance that we can no longer afford to view our South American neighbors with the detached and merely academic interest which characterized our attitude in this matter for so many years.

South America is becoming indispensable to us in more ways than one. Today our trade with the countries south of Panama is greater than was the total of our world exchanges before the Spanish war. Last year it approximated the by no means inconsiderable sum of \$1,000,000,000, while \$300,000,000 in American savings were invested by our banks and our citizens in the national, State and municipal securities of a quarter of the globe which had been almost entirely avoided as an investment field for generations. How many more millions have gone this way to be invested in commercial and other private enterprises it is most difficult to say at this moment, but it is certainly a large—an almost incredibly large—sum, and it is today undeniable that the Spanish and Portuguese communities to the south of the Isthmus have at last risen upon our economic and financial horizon. They have only recently, it is true, been found worthy of the careful consideration of our investors and of our merchants, and a study of the new situation that has developed, particularly when it is made by a statesman of experience and of vision, cannot but prove most timely.

Many things will strike our distinguished representative with the surprising force of the unexpected, and again much that will strike his eye will prove very similar to what is occurring in more northern climes on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. Lloyd George, whose sources of information as to Europe and elsewhere are un-

usual, recently said: "Nations are building up new armaments. They are constructing more terrible machines of destruction than even the late war saw." Be this as it may, it is quite certain that the Governments of Europe and the masters of the forges, the munition barons finding their wares a little out of style at home, are today unloading, if not their new engines of destruction, at least their former weapons—antiquated by the four years that have elapsed since the armistice—upon the South Americans in increasing bulk and at rising prices.

ARMAMENT IN BRAZIL

Indeed, Mr. Hughes will find that in Brazil today, as in perhaps no other country, armament or disarmament is the question of the hour, the great issue upon which the political parties divide. How this came about it would be unwise to suggest. At best my guess might be only approximately correct. However, it is certain that the Lusitanian people of Brazil have always felt themselves somewhat isolated in the closely encircling environment of their Spanish-American neighbors. Admittedly, this exceedingly natural feeling has been responsible, in part at least, for that decided trend toward a closer understanding with Washington which has always been a marked characteristic of Brazilian diplomacy, under the empire as well as since the establishment of the republic.

It is true—and this may be counted as a disturbing influence—that the Rio Government has had ideas as to the jurisdiction that should obtain as to the territorial waters of the Plate River that were not acceptable to her neighbors who enjoyed a frontage upon this great artery in the South American river system. And, as in other sections of this badly limited continent, there were troublesome boundary disputes in almost every direction. As a result, when, a few years ago, Brazil began, almost simultaneously, to construct railways toward the frontiers of Uruguay and Argentina, of Bolivia and Paraguay, there were not a few in those countries who characterized as military preparations what may have been merely commercial enterprise and foresight.

A more substantial grievance against Brazil came with the Administration of

the now retiring President, Pessoa, although he is far from being a militarist and, as the sole representative of South America at the Paris conference, did yeoman service in support of the Wilsonian policies of disarmament and equality between the sovereign nations, whether great or small. At this juncture a great Brazilian poet and orator, Olando Bilac, began to tour the country, apparently under Government patronage and support, and talked a great deal and perhaps somewhat extravagantly to many millions of people about what he called the "Argentine danger."

This incident and the disturbing news from the scene of the great conflict in Europe, in which Brazil participated to the extent of her resources, working upon war psychology, created conditions which it is easy to explain away, but at the same time they were the cause of uncomfortable anticipations in her neighbors, who, however, are not more peace-loving than the Brazilians. In these conditions, the arguments for preparedness, eloquently expressed, fell upon fertile soil; thousands of men, inspired by the poet's eloquence, joined up in training camps. At times, according to official figures, there were more than a hundred thousand men receiving military instruction as members of rifle clubs, which were greatly encouraged and liberally subsidized by the last Administration.

The regular establishment kept step with the growth of this volunteer movement. In 1921 the standing army of Brazil was increased to 116,000 men, whereas the armies of Chile and of Argentina, the other two powerful States, numbered only about 27,000 men each. It should also be noted that at this time the total of the organized land forces of all the other South American Republics reached only 108,000, or 8,000 less than the Brazilian Army standing alone.

Disquieting were the consequences of these progressive steps toward general armament, and they might have proved even more serious but for the appearance on the scene of Brazil's new President, Senhor Arturo Bernardes, who will be Mr. Hughes's host during his stay in Rio. President Bernardes came into national prominence as recently as three years ago, when, while serving as Governor of the State of Minas Geraes, he launched a pro-

gram of economy and reform and realized it by practically wiping out the State debt in the flush days before the post-war panic and at a time when money was to be had for almost any purpose merely for the asking. In the national election, Bernardes came out with rare courage in favor of reducing Brazil's military burdens, and, to the utter amazement of many qualified observers, he was, after a close contest, elected to the Presidency on a platform of which this was the most prominent plank. There was some opposition to the inauguration of Bernardes in the outlying provinces, which was generally understood to have been fomented by the "greater army" men. More recently—and this is generally regarded as a more disquieting symptom—came the revolt of a small garrison in Rio Harbor, headed by General Fonseca, a name of revolutionary implications in Brazilian annals. It was suppressed, but not without loss of life and serious disturbances in the capital.

TWO SOUTH AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

It would be fortunate, indeed, if Mr. Hughes, while in South American waters, should have an opportunity of conferring with some of the other Chief Executives of the expanding American nations south of Panama. Our Secretary of State would be delighted to meet Señor Leguia, who worked with him in such close confidence and harmony in the arbitration settlement of the West Coast question, so long a Pandora's Box of troubles for all the South American countries. President Leguia is a little man physically, but in no other way; he congratulates himself, not without reason, upon the fact that in a previous Presidency in more troubled days his diminutive physique saved his life. I recall very distinctly how, when I called upon him ten years ago, he was good enough to take me to see the probable spot where Pizarro was murdered, and then to the sepulchre where apparently Pizarro's remains are still conserved.

Then, suggesting that perhaps I was more interested in modern history, he took me to the Independence Column in Lima, erected in grateful remembrance of the heroes who fought gloriously in the revolution against Spain. Here, only a few days before, the President's political ene-

mies, who are now seen to have disappeared or to have been converted from the error of their ways, had dragged him from his unguarded palace with a noose around his neck and were on the point of executing him when help and rescue came from his soldiers and partisans. In the first volley that the somewhat reckless rescuers fired, a negro of herculean proportions fell upon the President and so enveloped him with his abundant limbs and flesh folds that the conspirators, when they decided that the fight was going against them and that they would have to forego the pleasure of a formal execution, could not find him to dispatch him informally with a knife, which was what they then proposed doing to their victim. President Leguia, since those stirring, restless days, has given his people a taste of his sterling qualities, and the dangers which he runs, incurred by all men alike in unenviable positions of power and responsibility, are not now of this character.

The new President of Argentina is also an interesting man, though by some he is regarded as a somewhat inscrutable character. In Paris and in London, where he is a familiar figure, he has been called the "Sir Charles Dilke of the Pampas." He belongs to the Radical Civic Union, which put the radical Irrigoyen, his predecessor, in power, and although, or perhaps because Señor De Alvear belongs to one of the oldest and most conservative families in the land and is a direct descendant of one of the Spanish conquerors of the La Plata countries, his politics are red. On the other hand, De Alvear has shown a sincerity and a capacity for self-sacrifice which do not always characterize the excursions of rich young men in democratic politics. His political views have cost him several fortunes, withheld by stuffy relatives of the reactionary generation, and the only boast that he has ever been heard to make is to the effect that for some years, both in Paris and Buenos Aires, reputed to be not the least expensive cities in the world, he supported himself by his pen alone. Radical as he is, and a partisan of a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth than now obtains, De Alvear has traveled much and seen much. And he has suffered. He is also an intelligent man and there is reason to

believe that he will cultivate closer and more amicable relations with the State's members of the European and the American world than did his immediate predecessor.

TACNA-ARICA ARBITRATION

Undoubtedly, the outstanding question in South America today is the dispute between Chile and Peru with regard to the unfulfilled provisions of the Treaty of Ancón. It is doubly troublesome because it involves the ancient boundaries of Bolivia, and her moral right and economic need for a sea frontage adequate to the proper development of her immense resources. After twenty-eight years of bickerings, of plottings and of counter-plottings which have unsettled South American domestic politics, as well as international relations, and on several occasions brought not only the republics directly involved but also the neighboring countries to the brink of war, this dispute has entered upon a more satisfactory phase than ever before. Chile and Peru have consented at last to the arbitration of President Harding, and there is a reasonable hope that in some way in the course of this arbitration, or as a result of it, a way will be found to do justice to the rightful claims of Bolivia.

I have not the space at my command here even merely to enumerate the international conflicts, the partial or complete mobilizations of armies, the distressing and frequently bloody revolutions that have been the direct results of this unhappy tension. Although that tension is not yet entirely removed, for the first time in forty years, as a result of the labors of the conference in Washington during June and July, it is in a fair way to be relieved. Such being the case, it is advisable to state frankly the unhealthy conditions which have been brought about from Panama to the Plata River as a result of this constant anxiety and ever impending danger.

Publicity, it seems to me, is an indispensable weapon if we hope to make it impossible for South America to become a dumping ground of the swollen armaments which ruined Europe can no longer maintain. Unfortunately, some of this "dumping" has already taken place. South America literally swarms with missions of European officers whose duty it

is, and apparently also their pleasure, to educate an excitable, but really peace-loving people in the use of the newer "quantity-destruction" weapons. These missions are the avowed or secret agents of the arsenals and the arms factories in the countries where their destructive purposes have been accomplished, and their mission is, consciously or unconsciously, to transfer their destructive activities to a fair region of the world which, with the exception of unhappy Paraguay, has hitherto been spared the most horrible features of mass warfare.

VAST EXPENDITURES FOR ARMS

I feel that we must face the facts without blinking, although the statement I am about to make is harsh. To say the least, and the accompanying comparison is a peculiarly odious one. In no quarter of the globe today do military expenditures, in proportion to revenue, exceed those that are incurred by most of the South American republics, excepting only Soviet Russia, the outcast of civilization. In Brazil, the cost of army and navy maintenance, while complicated by the fact that many of the States forming the Federal Union have provincial armies of their own, the expenses of which are difficult to calculate, reaches at least 35 per cent. of revenue receipts, and very probably, if the whole truth were known, they would be found to exceed this figure. Little Uruguay, so forward-looking in every other respect, so optimistically enterprising in all matters of social and political experimentation, spends 18 per cent. of her income on the army, which, admirable as it is, many think she could dispense with in complete safety.

During the years 1919 and 1920 Chile increased her army and navy expenditure to 18 per cent. of her Government income, and unless the still pending Arica question is amicably and satisfactorily settled, there is every reason to believe that the next budget will run to even more disproportionate figures. The army costs in Peru, in Bolivia and in Colombia are admittedly equally high, although in the absence of reliable statistics the exact percentages are difficult to estimate, while unfortunate Paraguay is generally credited with ex-

pending 90 per cent. of her revenues in fomenting or in combating revolutions. My understanding is that all these figures deal exclusively with the armies and the navies in being at the present time and do not cover the service of past war debts or the pensions that may be paid to survivors of these unhappy struggles.

These warlike conditions are all the more lamentable and, indeed, inexplicable because all the countries south of Panama, with the exception of Bolivia, shut off from the sea, have a greater area of territory than they require or can hope to populate in a hundred years. Further, covering as they do a greater expanse of territory than can be found anywhere else in the world inhabited by peoples which constitute practically a racial, a religious and a cultural unit, here, if anywhere, united by the memories of the revolutionary war fought in common against Spanish tyranny and exploitation, it would seem a régime of permanent peace and fraternity among the people would surely be possible.

Again it should be noted as an asset of the peace movement in South America, that in view of the intervening distances to be traversed, it is extremely difficult to wage war in South America, generally speaking, although, unfortunately, there are points of friction and contact extremely accessible. Some years ago I was shown what purported to be a mobilization sheet of the Brazilian Army, dealing with an advance against Argentina and the occupation of strategic points on the Parana and Paraguay rivers. If my memory is correct, and I believe it is, even assuming that no opposition from the enemy was met with, this mobilization, with the means of transportation and subsistence then available, would have required twenty-one months.

Under conditions such as these, calmer counsels should surely prevail, any number of war-delaying conferences might be called, and once the acute question of Tacna and Arica, bristling with many thorns, has been disposed of, there would seem to be no reason why the other lesser and by no means so envenomed boundary disputes should not be taken up and amicably arranged. There are, indeed, no vital interests here in jeopardy. Encouraged by the recent success of the Chile-

Peru conference, these matters should be taken up in the benevolent and neutral atmosphere of Washington and adjusted before they reach the peace-endangering stage that would spell a catastrophe for that country or countries in all of which we now have such important financial and economic interests.

INVESTMENTS FOLLOW PEACE

In conclusion, without indulging in excessive optimism, it can be said that South American affairs have progressed favorably within the last twelve months, and it can be assumed that the stream of American gold which is being poured from New York into the countries south of Panama is not in greater jeopardy than are our investments in some other countries of more ancient, staid renown. As a general thing, our pioneers of commerce and development are today not "wild-cattling" down there, and our business men know what they are about and are undoubtedly better advised than were their predecessors. A more copious and regular exchange of news between the two continents, although this shows marked improvement, is most desirable, and the personal intercourse which is growing up as a result of our unprecedented investment and increased volume of trade will go far to smooth away the few tangles and kinks of misunderstanding between us which still persist.

Once the great territorial dispute that I have already referred to is out of the way and the remaining frontier friction has been reduced by calm discussion in a reasonable, matter-of-fact atmosphere, the only discouraging symptom that an impartial survey of South America today will be found to reveal is the excessive display of armament to be met with in almost every quarter. This persisting curse should be, and doubtless will be, a subject of frank conversation between President Bernardes and Mr. Hughes.

No country needs money for development purposes more than does the great republic which sits astride the Equator, is divided by the Amazon, and extends for so many degrees into the highlands of the temperate zone to the south. Brazil is paying a high price for this money in New York, and she can secure the greatly need-

ed capital nowhere else, owing to present world conditions, which give no promise of immediate change. New York could well afford to reduce the interest on these and future loans if the armies were reduced and a larger proportion of the revenues were devoted to pacific and productive purposes and to the service of the debt.

In a word, then, it may be said that the Secretary of State has undertaken a visit

of ceremony which has great political and economic possibilities. There is still much to be done and some difficulties are yet to be surmounted, but it cannot be denied that we Americans of the North and of the South have come closer together and have greater interests in common today than even the most optimistic Pan-American of the last generation ever ventured to predict that we would have a hundred years hence.

Poland's Refugee Problem

By P. S. BALDWIN

Chief of Mission, American Relief Administration,
to Poland

WHEN one pictures hundreds of thousands of repatriates swarming across the Russian frontier into Poland, for the most part from the famine-stricken areas of Russia, it should not be hard to understand their lot. They return with no money, weak from hunger and disease, to find their homes destroyed and their lands a waste. The total number of deportees, who were driven from home by war, according to official Russian statistics, is divided as follows: Poles, 800,000; Jews, 200,000; white Ruthenians, white Russians and Ukrainians, 2,300,000; total, 3,300,000. This number includes slightly over 800,000 who are not expected to return. Up to June 1, 1922, about 1,000,000 repatriates came to Poland before the Riga treaty and 491,649 after it. From 25 to 30 per cent. are children under 15 years of age. At least a quarter of the repatriates will need relief and help for one year or more.

Most of these people were driven out of the eastern section of the country, and it is here that the reparation problem is principally localized; namely, in the regions of Brest, Vilna, Bialystok, Kovel and Lublin. The repatriation in 1921 began very slowly and became considerable only in the second half of the year.

Practically all the repatriates are Polish citizens. The following is given as a tragic

example of the condition in which they return:

A transport from Kazan was ninety days en route. It covered 19.33 kilometers (12 miles) in twenty-four hours. The transport was composed of 1,948 persons, of which number only 649 reached the Polish frontier; the remaining 1,299 died en route. The mortality amounted to 14.43 persons daily; in other words, each hour and forty minutes one refugee died. The dead were thrown out at railroad stations. No medical help was given. Of the 649 who returned, 16 were seriously ill with epidemic diseases and 56 with other ailments.

Typhus constitutes about 70 per cent. of the total disease. The repatriates brought infection with them and started an epidemic, of which there were 34,735 cases and 2,629 deaths from Aug. 1, 1921, to April 22, 1922. A large proportion return to a devastated, war-swept country. As high as 90 per cent. of the adult population in the Pinsk district have not eaten bread for two years, while the A. R. A. meal is practically the only food that the children receive. There are operated by the A. R. A. 1,849 open kitchens and 210 closed kitchens in the repatriation areas. More than 150,000 repatriates under 15 years are being fed. Poland is making a gallant struggle to cope with the problem. Fortunately, it is only temporary, for as soon as the repatriates are firmly established on the site of their old homes they will be self-supporting.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INDIA'S REVOLT

By MAURICE JOACHIM

A native of India, educated at Oxford, now in the United States

The United States partly responsible for the wave of rebellion against Great Britain in India—Why Americans should beware of Gandhi propaganda, backed by anti-British factions in this country

TO the average citizen of the United States of America it would appear a bold assertion if I said that his country is partly responsible for the new wave of national self-consciousness that has swept over the Indian public mind. In a sense, though, this is quite true, for although the failure of the Public Service Commission in India to suppress nationalist enthusiasm gave a fillip to the extremist movement, which had been moderately active since the Partition of Bengal act of 1905, what Mr. Woodrow Wilson said at Washington on April 2, 1917, opened up a vista of glorious "self-determination" for the dissatisfied element in my country.

That war message of President Wilson, delivered in Congress, has been characterized as the most momentous which any President of the United States ever uttered. It certainly is still making history. It is making Indian history, while at the same time it has evoked in the West, particularly in North America, a flaccid sympathy for the "downtrodden" people of India. The principles of self-determination that it upheld have so permeated the nationalist mind in India that, as a result, it will be appeased with nothing short of absolutely responsible self-government.

Among other things, Mr. Wilson said that America's object has always been to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up such a concert of purpose and action as would henceforth insure the observance of these principles. To this he added that the menace to world peace and liberty lay in the existence of autocratic Governments,

backed by organized force and not by the will of the people.

"Only free peoples," he continued, "can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interests of their own. America is prepared to fight for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples; for the rights of nations great and small; and for the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience; for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments; for the rights and liberties of small nations; for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

There is not a Nationalist in my country today who has not read these words over and over again, hugged them to his breast and quoted them as an authority and justification for his struggles for "swaraj" (self-government). In the Nationalist headquarters throughout India copies of this address are framed and hung prominently for all to read and assimilate. Thus Mr. Wilson fashioned a formidable weapon for extremist India against British suzerainty. Every line of that address is in perfect accord with Indian thought, so far as British conduct is concerned. To the freedom-seeking section of India, England is "a selfish and autocratic power," while the Government in India is "backed by organized force, which is controlled wholly by the will of that Government and not by the will of the Indian people." The Nationalists feel that they are being deprived of the "rightful privileges of man-

kind," viz., "to choose their way of life and obedience, and have a voice in their own government." With eager eyes strained into the mists of the uncertain future, they hope, like Mr. Wilson, that "the whole world itself will at last be free."

In India there has always existed a class of radicals who have left no stone unturned to destroy Indian loyalty to the British Empire. When Great Britain entered the World War the patriotism exhibited by the majority of Indians did not appeal to these men, and they looked for new pastures to sow the seed of hatred against the "foreign invader." They turned to America as the land where freedom of speech was a factor to count upon. There was much to gain if they could only drive a wedge between the two great sections of the English-speaking peoples, and they realized that active propaganda could alone effect this. I shall deal with the result of their efforts later.

Speaking of the Irish problem, a prominent American editor recently remarked that it was a matter for Ireland and England to solve, and that it would be very unwise for any outsider at this time to voice any views as to details of that situation. Obviously, this applies as well to the Indian trouble, and Americans are right when they believe that the whole future of the British Empire depends upon the maturing of a plan under which the component parts of the empire may be kept willingly, loyally and enthusiastically as parts of the confederation. If this cannot be done, the British Empire has no real cohesion. It may be rich in possessions, but in these democratic days possessions held by force of arms are not assets but liabilities. This learned editor also remarked that the Irish question in the United States (ergo, the Indian question also) was merely a matter of sympathy on the part of Americans for another people struggling for the rights and liberties which they themselves possessed and which they were glad to see all nations of the world possess in equal measure.

All this helps to encourage the nationalistic movement in India, for American sympathy is a very good thing to have. As in the case of Ireland, Americans have been led to believe that my country has been

misgoverned, misused and regarded as a subject nation rather than as an integral part of the British Empire. Americans have been led to feel that the differences of temperament, religion, and so forth, between the English and the Indians have meant a denial of liberties and opportunities to the latter, and this condition has created a schism which it is very difficult to repair.

Although anti-British feeling exists in the United States, I do not believe that America, in her heart of hearts, would like to see England go to the wall. Her sympathy for India is a sympathy for the struggles of a people to possess the liberties that she enjoys. Because this sympathy is sincere, I can speak with greater freedom and point out the error that Americans commit when they lend their support, whether active or passive, to those who are trying to overthrow British rule in India. Have those Americans who have helped the India home-rule movement ever looked ahead and thought what this will mean to their own countrymen in the East? If not, theirs is but a flabby sentimentality which threatens to swamp plain common-sense reasoning.

International politics were being discussed not long ago at the house of a friend of mine who edits a publication which deals with Eastern economic and social problems. An American lady remarked to me quite emphatically, "I have never stopped to consider who is right or who is wrong, but I do know that the Japanese have no right in Shantung, nor the French in Indo-China, nor the British in Ireland, Egypt or India. I believe that the natives of these respective countries should be allowed to work out their own salvation without any foreign interference."

"What about Hawaii and the Philippine Islands?" I ventured to inquire.

The lady paused for a moment before replying.

"Well, yes," she admitted hesitatingly. "There is no reason why America should not give these peoples their freedom. After all," she continued apologetically, "we are only adopting a guardian-angel policy in these islands, and within a short time they will be having their own Government. America is not pursuing a policy of ter-

ritorial aggression or aggrandizement." I admired the lady's patriotism, but I thought her vision rather limited. There is no limit of time that makes a policy of territorial occupation justifiable. What is open to criticism now was obviously open to criticism at all times, whether in the days of Alexander the Great or the Napoleonic era. If this lady's argument is incontrovertible, every American in the States should pack up, lock, stock and barrel, and leave this country once more to the aboriginal Redskin from whom it was taken. An argument like this, therefore, works out its own destruction, so that the only reasonable way left to deal with these matters is to take them on their own merits, without fixed rules and regulations and without political bias of any kind. As the position is at present, I have no hesitation in saying that when America helps India to attain the "swaraj" of Gandhi she is unconsciously nursing an adder in her bosom which shall one day turn on her and sting her fatally.

PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

There is in this mighty Republic of the United States a large section of thoughtful and cultured people who appreciate the civilizing work carried on by what they call the "Mother Country" in all parts of this earth, and who realize fully the difficulties that at the present time confront Great Britain in the administration of her far-flung colonies, dependencies and protectorates. On the other hand, there is also an unassimilated mass who are out and out anti-British in their sentiments and hostile to the progress and stability of the British Empire. At the present time these men are aiding and abetting the Indian revolutionaries in the States to disrupt the British Empire and to aggravate and complicate the British problems in all quarters of the globe. The efforts of these enemies have met with no little success, and a large number of the American people today are beginning to be affected by the virus of anti-British propaganda that has been so strenuously and extensively carried on all over the United States.

Quite recently I made the discovery that there exists in the States a body which calls itself "The American Commission to Promote Self-Government in India." Why

such an organization should exist cannot be logically explained, and any one who justifies its existence will have to admit that he is adopting a policy of unnecessary interference in business not his own. Recently this so-called commission announced in the American papers that Gandhi, who is serving six years' imprisonment for conspiracy against the British, is being kept in solitary confinement and treated with cruelty, allowed but two visitors every three months, is underfed, has to sleep on the floor of his cell and is not permitted to read or study; is not allowed to see any of the prisoners; no articles from the outside are given him and he is even denied his own bed. All these charges have been refuted in toto by the British Library of Information of 44 Whitehall Street, New York City. If that is not sufficient evidence to the contrary, I wish to seize this opportunity to state that I have received a letter from a friend of mine who is an ardent supporter of Gandhi and who states not only that Gandhi is being treated with extraordinary leniency, but that the prisoner has himself expressed great satisfaction at the treatment he is receiving.

It is to be regretted that methods like these should be resorted to to enlist American sympathy by a distortion of facts. This sympathy is showing itself in the establishment of "Young India" societies throughout the United States, with headquarters in New York City, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco. The Presidents of these societies are natives of India who found that country too hot for them, and the means they are adopting, though bringing a temporary gain, will eventually come back on their own heads. From what I have seen of America I know that her people, while prepared to shower a whole-hearted sympathy on what they have been led to believe is an oppressed race, will not tolerate lies and misrepresentation.

AMERICA SHOULD STAND ALOOF

What I have to say now will be surprising in view of the fact that India is the land of my birth. None the less do I love my country and wish distinctly to state that I am in no way posing as an apologist for Britain's errors in India. I have no reason to love England. In personal matters she has not given me a

square deal, but it would be foolish of me to let personal prejudice influence my judgment. I fully realize that America can do a great deal to improve those conditions in India that cry for reform, but before she can be of any assistance it is absolutely necessary for this country to know the truth. American finances and American energy are today being misapplied and misdirected in India, and the blame is to be laid at the door of the anti-British agitators who have been feverishly circulating barefaced lies, such as those just cited concerning Gandhi's treatment in prison.

Unhesitatingly I make this statement: *Americans, beware! Do not lend an atom of support to Gandhism, which is nothing more nor less than the most formidable menace to Western culture and a cleverly devised conspiracy against the progress of civilization.*

The American who is co-operating in the movement for the promotion of self-government in India, or, in other words, who is helping India to attain the "swaraj" of the Nationalists led by Mohandas K. Gandhi, is slowly but surely paving the way to make his brother American a pariah in the East; is unconsciously helping to drive out every American from India; is aiding and abetting the abolishment of American enterprise in the East; is contributing his time and money to uproot and disrupt all the good work that American missionaries, the American Salvation Army and the American Y. M. C. A. have performed after years and years of self-sacrifice; in short, is co-operating in a movement to turn back the clock of civilization.

Gandhi has declared that Western education has produced a slave mentality among the Indian peoples. He has exhorted his followers to turn their backs upon everything that is Western, including the study of geography, history and chemistry. He has spread the idea among his worshippers that hospitals and railroads are breeders of sin. He has urged the rabble who follow blindly in his footsteps to boycott tea and coffee as a protest against the control of European and American planters in India. What is it going to mean to America and to the thousands of Americans in India if my country attains the "swaraj" of Gandhi's speculative

visions? Ask any American resident in India today and see what *he* has to say. Therefore, before any honest-minded American, who has a particle of love for his country and his race, decides to help nationalist India, he should ask himself the question, "Will my country, will my fellow-citizens, lose or gain in the end?" Then let him act according to the answer.

To the American public the British Government in India has been represented as a military autocracy; my country is depicted as being kept under the heel of enormous armies, while the people are supposed to be groaning under misrule and being ravaged and pillaged by exploiting Britons. All this is far from being true. Assuredly the Indian agriculturists, who comprise 85 per cent. of the population, are very poor, but their poverty does not make them discontented with their lot. It is not commonly appreciated that the agriculturist's indigence is very largely accounted for by the fact that he does so little work, and what is more, that he does not need to do more. He needs few comforts because the climate is kind to him. Thus he has a distinct advantage over his Western brother, who is seldom satisfied with what he has. He does not need to build himself a house for warmth and to keep out the draughts, and his little thatched hut affords him all the shelter that is required. Naturally, to the transient visitor from the West he appears a miserable, pitiful object; but that is only in the light of comparison, and comparison between the West and India is a total failure.

These cultivators do not even realize that they are under the protection of the Union Jack, and the Government never interferes with them, but allows them to pursue the even tenor of their way. Thousands of them have never seen a white man. Ninety per cent., or about that proportion, have never heard of the name of Gandhi, who, as is not known in the West, recruits most of his followers from the student class of India. Student India, however, can hardly be called a representative body, so that the oft-repeated statement that Gandhi is the idol of one-fifth of the human race is entirely without foundation.

Several newspaper articles have been published in America giving glowing ac-

counts of the renunciation of titles and honorary posts by more than 300,000 Indians; of similar renunciation of legal practice by more than 35,000 Indian lawyers, and the emptying of British schools and universities in the country. The degree of truth in these statements can be judged from the fact that the New Year's Honor List and the King-Emperor's Birthday Honors List of this year show an increase of 33 1-3 per cent. in the number of Indian officials who have received loyal recognition for meritorious service; that the published annual reports of the four Inns of Court in London show an increase of nearly 15 per cent. in the number of students from India applying for permission to enroll for the barristership-at-law, and that the address of the Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University at the convocation in March, 1922, made reference to the ever-increasing number of graduates who were qualifying for their degrees from the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. The University of the Punjab was the one exception, showing a decrease, and this can be accounted for by reason of the real danger to British supremacy on the turbulent northwestern frontier, where martial conditions make a cultivation of the arts and sciences difficult in the extreme.

BRITISH POSITION STRONG

As a tree can be judged only by its fruits, so also can the stability of a movement which clamors for progressive reform be judged only in the light of subsequent events. The extremists in India contended—and America was flooded with reports to this effect—that the continuance of British rule in my country was only a matter of a few weeks from the time that the Mohammedans threw in their lot with the Hindus. Gandhi himself placed the date of success as December, 1921, but December, 1921, has come and gone and the British flag still flies from the Vice-regal Palace at Delhi. In a previous article I referred to the impossibility of the permanency of a Hindu-Mohammedan entente, and said that the alliance, apart from being a temporary one, was purely a sham and make-believe in Indian politics. The Moslems have now gone back to their old diversion of cutting Hindu throats in

Southern India, as will be gathered from the statement of Sir Sankaran Nair, member of the Secretary of State for India's Council, when interviewed at Bombay City on May 20, prior to his departure for England. Sir Sankaran, a Hindu, remarked: "The situation in India is hopeful, except in Malabar, where Hindu and Moslem relations are bitter, and time alone can efface these asperities." Is this what the alliance between the two great religions is effecting?

Then take the other phases of the situation in India today. Gandhi has been in prison for nearly four months, and extremist India is still waiting, like Mr. Micawber, "for something to turn up." But nothing seems to be turning up, and the Moslems are finding that their compact with the Hindus is costing them more sacrifices than they had reckoned upon. The Gandhi theories are being exploded one after the other, and the Gandhi bubbles of "swaraj" for his co-religionists, and an independent Moslem republic for the followers of the Prophet (which was held out as a bribe to the extremist Mohammedans), are being blown near to the bursting point. The Moslems are getting half-hearted, and although Hazrat Mohani, the extremist leader of the Moslem League of the Central Provinces, was arrested for sedition on April 22, the other members of the league have not been stirred to action.

The Gandhi movement in India, in fact, has killed itself by its impossibility and absurdity, and the situation in my country at the time of writing this article is very much easier than at any time during the last twelve months. Undoubtedly there will be other sporadic disturbances, but they will be very badly organized, as is characteristic of all Indian racial and religious riots. They may even be widespread and destructive, but they will not bring India one inch nearer the goal of self-government. Sullenness undoubtedly persists in the Punjab, but for the moment the Akalis, the tribe responsible for the Sikh revolutionary movement, appear cowed by the stern measures being adopted against them. Economic conditions, which are extremely hopeful, have played a large part in restoring a semblance of peace and order. The official reporter of the Im-

perial Gazetteer of India states that the harvest and bumper crops are keeping the Punjabis busy, and the expected heavy fall in the price of wheat will restore normality. In spite of the optimism expressed, however, the Punjab still needs watching. An imminent danger lies in the activities of the Shrines Reform Committee of the Punjab, which has definitely dissociated itself from any effort to solve the shrines problem, and has become a more active political force, which may bring about unfortunate results.

Everywhere the lull is pronounced and convincing. Gandhi had keyed up his followers (the extremist section particularly) to defiance of the Government in the shape of civil disobedience. When the authorities issued a final warning and showed a resolve to arrest him, he committed the tactical error of presenting a formal apology and promising to keep within the requirements of the law. This apparent display of the white feather immediately swung all Western interest in Indian affairs from fierce apprehension to bored indifference, and made him an object of mistrust to his supporters. By his next move—that of preaching open sedition—he made a desperate endeavor to regain the ground he had lost. His arrest followed as a matter of course.

His arrest was not unexpected. It was talked about so much beforehand that it was no dramatic stroke evoking passionate emotion, as it might have done three or four months earlier. His extremists were dissatisfied with him, and his moderate followers were lukewarm. On the other hand, I will admit that his leadership is being badly missed; but the result is very advantageous to the British. This want of leadership has caused a split among the non-co-operators, who feel that they do not possess a definite end. The movement is exhausting itself, and a replenishment of its funds is very doubtful. Some of the extremists are seeking to enter the Legislatures at the next election, and intend to adopt the policy followed by Charles Stewart Parnell, the famous Irishman of the Victorian era—that of obstructing the work of the other members with a view to having the Nationalist policy ultimately adopted by the majority. But here they are destined to meet with disappointment,

for the Liberals are going to have a say in the matter, and the non-co-operators are not going to have it all their own way.

MOSLEMS DESERTING HINDUS

An immediate point of interest in the split is to be found in the attitude of the Mohammedans, who are learning to regard the Hindus as a source of trouble for the very strong reason that the "swaraj" of Hindu ideals and the Caliphate propaganda are widely divergent, both in principle and in fact. This does not apply to all Moslem India, but to most of it, for there will always exist the extremist Mohammedan, who is a hater of the British more than he is a follower of Mohammed. No modification of the Treaty of Sèvres would placate this section; in fact, it would not cease its policy of obstruction even if the Sultan of Turkey were given half of Europe. The larger and more reasonable Moslem section of India, however, is beginning to realize that the Government of India (if not the English Parliament) is a strong champion of the Caliphate sentiment, and the concessions embodied in the latest terms offered to Turkey are inevitably connected with the expression of India's feelings.

Recent happenings have also had a salutary effect on Indian and Moslem opinion, and a contributory cause of the improved feeling was the Viceroy of India's recent reply to the address presented to him at Peshawar, the capital of the most preponderantly Moslem province. In carefully outlining British policy toward Moslem religious susceptibilities, the Earl of Reading has paved the way to a better understanding and considerably assuaged Moslem fears regarding the religious supremacy of the Sultan of Turkey. It is noteworthy that Gandhi's titular successor, Hakim Ajmall Khan, is a Mohammedan of the more moderate type, and is therefore distrusted by the extremist Moslems and is considered weak by the Hindus. Thus there are now many conflicting opinions gaining expression in the non-co-operation camp. The Simla correspondent of *The London Times* wrote:

Despite the vigorous propaganda of the so-called National Week, the half-hearted Mohammedans stood markedly aloof from demonstration. The general trade depression, which has

made money tight, is also reacting on the movement, and, above all, there is a general feeling among the people, who are tired of the constant alarms and excursions produced by the non-co-operators, that India wants a breathing space. The disappearance of Gandhi has apparently come with the express object of providing that want. Thus a lull exists which may carry the country over the dangerous months of May and June, after which the fall in price of food-stuffs favors political quietude.

The writer of the above extract (an Englishman) may have been too hopeful, but events thus far have supported him. The Government has had valuable time for pursuing its present policy of firmness and conciliation, which has been very successful. It is said that the politicians who have worked the reforms have gained ground. American sympathizers do not realize that India has been given a form of parliamentary government which can be logically developed in due time into almost fully responsible self-rule, and that, therefore, the Government of India can carry out the definite lines of its policy only with the co-operation of the Legislatures. In the Provincial Councils especially there has been little wisdom shown in exercising the new-gained power, but it is possible that they will learn from their mistakes, and there is a manifest reaction among Indian politicians against the clamor for early extension of the reforms.

A great danger also exists in the stub-

bornness with which racial animosity is inflamed. The lack of perspective in America enhances this danger, and what is lacking in the West, particularly America, is a sustained and intelligent appreciation of Indian developments. The American public is too apt to picture India as a country seething with justifiable sedition, and has overlooked the solid spirit of good-will and co-operation with which the Indian (not the Gandhi worshipper) is working for the good of his country. At no time during the last couple of years has the Government of India stood in a stronger position in the country than today.

My final appeal to those Americans who have lent their support to the Nationalist movement in my country is based on the prevailing American opinion of the man now at the head of affairs in India. Lord Reading has left in America a name second only to that of Lord Bryce, and Americans must realize that his statesmanship is worthy of approbation, combined as it is with repeated official self-abnegations. The United States, it is certain, will lose, not gain, if India attains her "swaraj." From the incontrovertible facts I have given in this article, it will be clear that there is no logical reason for sympathy in the United States for the cause of Gandhism in Hindustan.

MOTOR DRAGOONS OF IRELAND AND PALESTINE

THE regular infantry of the future, it has been confidently predicted, will rumble along on motor lorries, as is even now being done in Free State Ireland. In Ireland these new infantry conveyances are not under Government supervision as yet. One other new country is putting their qualities officially to the test, though under very different circumstances, viz., Palestine. The Palestine gendarmerie are provided with Ford tenders, the chassis of which cost \$400, the cost of two Government horses. They have been fitted with

wooden bodies, with a seat in the centre, so that the men sit back to back, as in an Irish car. In this fashion they carry twelve men in addition to a driver, a mechanic, an automatic gun, water, petrol and ammunition. Light in construction, with a strong motor, these cars can carry their load over every kind of country and through all weathers, and their use has already been pronounced a most invaluable asset to the policing of the new mandate territory of the Near East. The day of the motor dragoons has arrived.

Famous statue of
of St. Patrick, Ire-
land's patron saint,
on the hill of Tara,
site of the vanished
splendor of the old
Irish kings.

IRELAND THROUGH THE AGES

By BERNARD SEXTON

The Emerald Isle's physical characteristics and its equally picturesque history—Influence of Tara's ancient culture upon the present ideals of the Sinn Fein—Ireland the creator of the mystical concept of love

BOTH as a geographic and as a historical unit, Ireland has had an adventurous existence. Geographically, she has survived many catastrophic upheavals. Historically, she has attained, through tribal growth and organization, a high degree of civilization under her own Kings. The harp that once echoed through Tara's ancient hall vibrated to the words of Ireland's native poets, whose mystical conception of love has stolen like a white and ideal vision down through the ages to our modern time.

As a geographical entity, Ireland has more than once been sunk under primeval oceans and raised again after the passage of geologic eras. Molten rocks have burst through her surface. She has experienced the fierce heats of the carboniferous era and the dry air of the triassic period. Buried deep under the snow and ice of the Great Glacier, she has awaited through ages her resurrection as a habitable land. It was just before glacial times that the sea inundated the lowlands to the east, sep-



arating Ireland and Great Britain from Continental Europe. Even today the waters to the east are shallow. If the sea subsided 300 feet Ireland would be once more joined to the Continent; 100 feet of subsidence would connect English Lincolnshire with Holland.

The principal physical feature of Ire-

land is the great central plain of carboniferous limestone bounded by ancient mountains. Thus the island has roughly the shape of a shallow saucer. The eastern coast is mostly low and has offered in ages past easy access to raiders and Continental invaders from Britain and Europe.

The central plain, no part of which is more than 250 miles from the sea, includes one of the largest bog areas in the world. In ages past the deposits of glacial drift, impeding the flow of the streams, was the primary cause of this phenomenon. Some 4,420 square miles, one-seventh of the area of Ireland, consist of bog land. With treatment by the new technique (now being developed in Germany) for converting peat into light and power, these bog lands will be an asset of the greatest value. In some places the peat deposits are forty feet thick. The average thickness is estimated at twenty-six feet. Even if the average thickness were but six feet, the peat reserve of Ireland would equal 15,000,000 cubic yards. In these bogs are found remains of ancient life—the gigantic Irish deer, the mammoth, reindeer, bear, wolf and hippopotamus. The great plain is, on the whole (outside of the bogs), green and fertile land. The English poet Spenser, who settled in Ireland about the time when Virginia was being colonized, wrote of it thus:

Sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, seamed throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sortes of fish, most abundantly sprinkled with many sweet Islandes and goodly lakes like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon theyr waters, adorned with goodly woodes fit for building of howses and shippes, also full of good portes and havens opening upon England and Scotland, as inviting us to come to them, to see what excellent commodities that countrie can afford; besides the soyle itself is most fertile, fit to yield all kinds of fruite that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens are mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist in the part toward the west. * * *

Ireland was the first European land to benefit by the southwest winds and the beneficial warmth of the Gulf Stream. For that reason, too, the rainfall is somewhat heavier than in England. The average rainfall is: In France, 30 inches; in Britain, 33; in Ireland, 36. Ireland also shares with her sister isle the peculiarity that rainfall is greater in the Autumn months than in the Summer. The temperature also

is equable. The average difference between warmest and coldest weather is: In Paris, 30 degrees; in Britain, 36; in Vienna, 40; in Dublin, 17.7. This mildness of climate has given the Irish the outdoor habit throughout the year. It has even influenced the development of their arts, giving them a tendency toward expression in literature rather than in architecture and painting. The ancient bard and his successor in learning, the Christian monk, finding natural life easy and accessible, expressed their emotions in the more simple of the arts.

Ireland has never had any vast cities. Few of her people went through the experience of living in walled towns. Fortified centres, such as Dublin and Waterford, were developed by Scandinavian and English invaders. The ancient Gaelic communistic civilization, which offered easy access to the land, tended also to create in the Gael from the beginning that extreme individualism which he has displayed through the centuries.

FORESTATION AND CLIMATE

The country was at one time almost covered by forests of beech, oak and other valuable hardwoods. The lakes teemed with fish. The River Shannon, 250 miles long, is the longest river in the British Isles, and Lough Neagh heads an impressive list of useful and picturesque water features. The forests have long since disappeared. Only 2 per cent. of Ireland's area is now forested. Conscious deforestation began in the sixteenth century, when English settlers attacked with axe and saw these ancient woodland retreats of the Irish. There is a great work to be done in reforestation, a process which would add, Tyndall estimated, 4 degrees to the mean temperature. In the ancient forest the great Irish elk roamed till the twelfth century. Fenian hunters and their "trucklin men" ran down the magnificent game, resting at evening by campfires built in shady groves of beach, oak and ash.

Near the west coast, where warm, moist winds strike the mountains, rainfall is heavier than elsewhere on the island. On occasions the rain comes down in such tremendous volume as to cover the surface of the western sea with a film of fresh water. Fishermen can be seen drinking

from the sea over the sides of their boats.

In contrast with the east coast, which offers easy access to the interior, especially through the historic gateways of Dublin Harbor and the Boyne Valley, the west coast exhibits the boldest and most savage scenery in the British Isles. John M. Synge has immortalized some of these places in his plays, the scenes of which are laid in wild glens of Wicklow, or along the wilderness of giant rocks and roaring inlets that give the west coast its grimly picturesque character. The Donegal Highlands and the northwest coast bear in many ways a strong resemblance to the scenery of Norway. Connemara is perhaps the wildest, poorest and most desolate part of Ireland. Its people are the descendants of those whom civil strife and religious wars drove to the wall. Sir Robert Kane, in 1844, called this section "the reproach of Ireland and the by-word of Great Britain." And yet it was on islands off the west coast that some of the most famous monastic establishments were founded fifteen hundred years ago. The Irish monks, who had a strong passion for the sublime in nature, chose for their schools and hermitages remote and lonely places that practical people shunned.

From the most ancient times Ireland has been divided into four provinces—Ulster, Leinster, Connaught and Munster—each ruled by a provincial chief or King. The idea of an *Ard-Ri*, or High King. The finally developed in the Gaelic system, and for many centuries Tara was the seat of this authority. The ruins of Tara are still visible, as traced by antiquaries. They are, however, only the latest of a series of ancient works which make the valley of the Boyne a rich field for the historian. Ages prior to Tara Megalithic man built the vast burial mound at Newgrange, which was a sacred centre for the same race that raised the ancient blocks at Stonehenge, and dotted Europe and Asia with sepulchral mounds and tumuli.

THE HISTORIC VISTA

In the eighth century of our era the authority of the High King at Tara was blasted by the curse—it was said—of a saint, on the ground that the King had violated the law of sanctuary. This illus-

trates the truth that the communistic civilization of Ireland tended to decentralize, rather than to centralize political authority, and helps to explain why these people, in their conflicts with highly centralized Norman feudalism, were compelled to give ground; it also explains their stubborn resistance and the slowness of their defeat, for though centralization breeds great institutions, decentralized civilization breeds great individuals. The American Indian at his best is a familiar example of what a free, loose, tribal organization will evolve in the way of individual growth. Man is now groping for a theory of practical life which will conserve the strength that comes of centralized institutions without losing the individual ease and color that are the outcome only of personal freedom.

At the time when Ireland lost her High King, the English States were still Saxon, and their tribal Kings made the land a battleground even as in Ireland. The Normans had not yet arrived, bringing with them the European frontier and imposing on the English that extraordinary blend of Scandinavian individuality and French feudalism which was their genius. When they did come their authority was soon sufficient to overshadow the Church. A Norman ruler slew Thomas a Becket on the altar, and yet Norman Kingship survived that awful sacrilege.

The history of Ireland subsequent to the fall of the *Ard-Ri* is governed by the established law that the British Isles have always received their cultural impulses from Europe. And the history of Europe is largely the history of the frontier, behind which, as a shield, new institutions move across the land. Roman civilization, which was itself a synthesis, conquered Britain at first in the shape of the legions of Julius Caesar. Later it conquered Ireland without bloodshed through the humane mission of St. Patrick, whose name was of Roman origin. His mission work carried in its train a culture which later reacted upon Europe. A great stream of Irish teachers went as missionaries from Ireland to the most savage parts of Europe. These Irish monks established monasteries and schools wherever they were admitted, thus passing on to less cultivated people the torch of learning, art and piety that

had been so freely given them by Patrick and his followers.

The Norman conquest of England and Ireland really represented the invasion of the isles by the military power of the Romanized Europeans who composed William's army. It was another movement of the European frontier, and as such proved irresistible to both English and Irish. Later Columbus carried the European frontier across the Atlantic to America. In less than four hundred years from the time of the discovery it reached the North Pacific. Since that time American civilization has been reacting upon Europe even as Gaelic civilization acted on it at one hour of history and English at a later. The greatest military expression of this reaction was in the landing in Europe during the great war of the 3,000,000 men who composed the American Expeditionary Forces.

The seat of Southern Irish civilization was in Munster. Its holy place was the Rock of Cashel, which is still covered with beautiful architectural relics. There are other centres in Munster, such as Holycross and Clonmacnoise, which are even today venerated by the people as a proof that they are descended from a noble and artistic civilization.

TARA AND ITS RULERS

Tara was a cultural centre at which poets and "Brehons" gathered for the triennial assembly which influenced Ireland not only by definite legal pronouncements but through the introduction of new modes of learning. Patrick came to Tara with his message and was well received by poet, chief and King. The Christian faith and doctrine, receiving no substantial opposition from them, was all the more readily accepted by the people. This fact presupposes a coherent civilization which, if not highly centralized politically, was capable of being readily influenced by European ideas.

At Tara the foundations of the main banqueting hall have been traced. According to good authority, the dimensions of the building were at least 300 by 75 feet in length and 45 feet in height—roughly speaking, the dimensions of the main reading room of the New York Public Library. The assemblies held there were regulated by a strict but ancient code. The

men who corresponded to our modern law-givers and legislators were in Erin named "Brehons." These were professional men who devoted their whole time to settling disputed legal points. The Brehon law, which prevailed in Ireland down to the seventeenth century, was elaborated in the most minute detail by these authorities, who differed from our Judges in one essential point: They stated the law and assessed the fine, but did not pronounce sentence.

The Ulster civilization had its centre at Emania (near the present town of Navan, the name of which closely corresponds to the pronunciation of ancient Emania). Here the Red Branch Knights trained. Here were planned those cattle raids upon Connaught which are immortalized in old epics. The chief of Ulster heroes was Cuchulain, and the earthwork of his dun, or fort is still existent. It was an age when great and little chiefs lived inside walled or earthen enclosures, into which the cattle were driven at night. To such duns all retired in case of raid or siege.

We learn from the old epics that there was a strong kingdom in Connaught, in which the character of Meave, the warrior queen, stands out. There seems to have been for a long time a standing quarrel between Ulster and Connaught—a quarrel which still interests us because out of it have come some famous and sprightly tales of love and battle. The Leinster Kings were for a long time humiliated by the necessity of paying a considerable tax—"the Boruma Tribute"—which became a fruitful source of bitterness in later times.

SINN FEIN AND OLD ERIN

There is no other country where the past is so interwoven with the present. One of the avowed objects of the creators of the Irish Free State is the restoration of many old Brehon laws. Ireland still possesses the greatest mass of ancient writings of any nation outside of the classical countries. It has been estimated that the untranslated Celtic literature in the libraries and museums of the British Islands alone would fill 1,200 octavo volumes.

One of the greatest contributions of Celtic civilization to Europe was the ideal of chivalry. All the old writings concerning



Ireland teach that the Brehon laws, as well as the customs of the country, gave woman a high place in society and an equality with man before the law. In prose and poetry the men of Ireland embodied an ideal of romantic love that has influenced Europe for a thousand years. Renan said, speaking of the Celts:

No other human tribe has carried so much mystery into love. No other has conceived with more delicacy the ideal of woman, not been more dominated by her. It is a kind of intoxication, a madness, a giddiness. Read the strange *mabinogi* of Peredur, or its French imitation, *Parceval le Gallois*; these pages are dewy, so to say, with feminine sentiment. Woman appears there as a sort of vague vision intermediate between men and the supernatural world. There is no other literature analogous to this. Compare Guenevere and Iseult with those Scandinavian furies Gudrun and Chrumhilde, and you will acknowledge that woman as chivalry conceived her—that ideal of sweetness and beauty set up as the supreme object of life—is a creation neither classic Christian nor Germanic, but in reality Celtic.

Paleolithic man, Neolithic man, Celt, Dane, Norwegian, Norman, Saxon—all have come at one time or another to Ireland, and all have contributed to the heredity of the Irishman or to the institution

Blarney Castle, County Cork, Ireland, a picturesque relic of medieval Irish architecture. The famous Blarney stone, whose touch is productive of honeyed speech, is in the outer wall of the castle a few feet above the highest window on the right.

of modern Ireland. And the modern Irishman is aware of his opportunities.

There lives in Dublin one of the most remarkable men of our times, George Russell, sometimes known as "AE." Through his paper, *The Irish Homestead*, he reaches the millions with instruction as to dairying, stock, improved machinery and education. Every one in Ireland knows about him. He is an institution—a living example that the old Gaelic ideal of the Grand Man is possible. "AE" is an authority on poetry and pigs, knows theosophy and tractors. He paints pictures, but also lectures to hard-headed farmers on improved butter. The nation that can evolve and support such a leader has a noble future. Indeed, the Irish Free State needs a splendid future to measure up to the magnificence of its geographic opportunity.

ANCIENT CARTHAGE IN TODAY'S SUNSHINE

By MATTHEW CRAIG

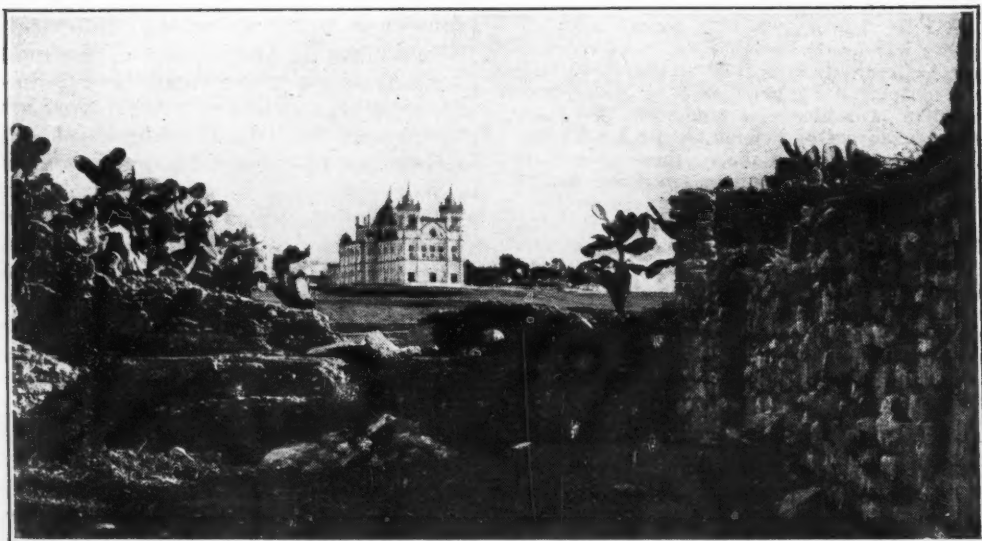
Interesting glimpses of the work of excavating the proud city of Hannibal's day, which has been a buried ruin for more than two thousand years—Recent discoveries of French archaeologists

Carthage, the capital of ancient Phoenicia, was destroyed by the Romans under Scipio Africanus in 146 B. C., at the close of the Third Punic War. For many years the French occupants of this portion of Northern Africa have been laboring to dig out the ruins of that famous city, after the manner of the Italians at Pompeii. The earlier work was done by the White Fathers, whose monastery is at present the only habitation on the actual site of Carthage, but the French Government is now taking a hand. Within twenty feet of the surface there appear to be distinct remains of three cities that flourished on the same spot at various times in the last 3,500 years. The one deepest down is apparently Egyptian. The one that succeeded Hannibal's Carthage was that built by the Caesars, and it flourished in the first, second and third centuries A. D. It was captured by Genserich the Vandal in 439 and given over to plunder. Byzantine succeeded Vandal, and then came the Arab conquerors of North Africa, who wiped out what was left in the year 698. The highly educated author of the present account of the excavations is the owner of a flourishing fruit ranch near the site of Carthage. At his request, due acknowledgment is here made for data and supplementary photographs in this article to M. Ch. Weber, Director of La Tunisie Illustrée.—EDITOR.

PRESIDENT MILLERAND'S recent tour through the French colonies of North Africa has directed attention to Tunisia and to the important work of excavation now being pursued by the French Administration throughout the ancient Punic peninsula. No longer does the mention of Tunisia's capital bring the doubtful answer frequently met ten years ago: "Tunis? Now, wait a minute! Why, of course. Somewhere in Italy, isn't it?" Happily we have become more world-informed since then, and the Mauretanian States now hold their own on the map for the rank and file of Americans.

Of the numerous excavations now in progress in Tunisia, those about Carthage, the ancient Punic capital, are, of course, supreme. Few indeed are the great van-

The modern Basilica of Carthage seen through the cactus-grown ruins of the ancient cisterns of Malga





Reservoirs of the Valley of Hamlicar, curious old basins still in perfect preservation on the slopes of Sidi-bou-Saïd

ished cities of history whose names evoke a more tragic spell than hers. Nineveh, Babylon,

Pompeii, the buried Maya cities of Yucatan, had their epoch and have passed. Carthage, in the historic anathema which has clung to her through the centuries, would seem to survive by her annihilation: *Delenda est Carthago*. Cato's words were fulfilled. The might of Rome was vindicated. Carthage was destroyed; and for hundreds of years the destruction has continued.

After the jealousy and fear of Rome came the cupidity, vandalism or merely ignorance of successive peoples bent, seemingly, upon the obliteration of even a trace of the fallen city. For leagues about, the country has been enriched by her spoils. In the *gourbi* of the *jellah* one sees fragments of beautifully carved marble columns serving as pickets for cattle, their capitals serving as seats. In the country houses and town patios of rich

natives are precious mosaics, statuary and marble pilasters pillaged from the ruins of princely Punic dwellings. And it is not alone the Mauretanians who have carried off from the buried treasure rich overlays of onyx and porphyry, marbles and chiseled capitals for their houses and mosques at Tunis and Kairouhan. Europe came to share in the spoils of the great fallen giant, which today enrich the palaces and cathedrals of some of its cities, notably at Pisa and Florence.

Yes; *delenda est Carthago*. The hand of the barbarian has not only pillaged but scattered it, and its torn site today, after countless years of this rapacious treasure-hunting, is like a scarred battlefield in its desolation. The majestic port which held the shipping of the world's greatest mart—trireme and gold-prowed galley and a merchant fleet that carried beyond the Hercules Pillars as far as the Southern Horn (Sierra Leone) and even to Britain's distant coast (see the Story of Carthage, by Alfred A. Church, M. A.)—is now little more than a great lagoon with a prodigal belt of sea-growth replacing its ancient marble quays—and the magic of its African coloring, the evocation of its imperishable past. *Delenda Carthago!* And upon the words history gradually built the legend that nothing indeed is left of her save the name of a people who made Rome trouble; and later the eloquence of Tertullian, the halo of Augustine.

But, *maktoûb*—it is written otherwise. During the forty years of her protectorate, France, by her initiative and zeal in bringing to light and restoring the ancient sites, has disproved and effectually destroyed the legend. In 1885, however, France faced in Tunisia the systematic pillage not only of its ruins, but of its land and forests, its plantations of olive trees and ancient system of irrigation, glory of the first Berbers. Her efforts in those first days were necessarily directed to the immediate needs of colonizing and consolidating the new Regency, and archeological work had to wait.

Thus it was that Père Delattre was almost the sole explorer to pursue the work of excavation during those early years of the occupation. To his intrepid efforts we owe the imposing Amphitheatre, the great basilica at Damous-el-Karita, and the very

beautiful Punic tombs which, by reason of their great depth, might easily have remained untouched until now.

Of pagan Carthage, which is contemporary with republican Rome, all then has remained virtually intact, owing to the legend already cited. But, on the other hand, the current belief that everything valuable was long since gone contributed to a further vandalism. The European settlers found in the loose soil about Carthage convenient building material without the expense of buying it. Remnants of monuments and ancient walls were demolished on the spot and removed for flagstones and door-posts, and the harm was the greater since it destroyed the possibility of knowing their height and direction and whether they formed part of some group or concealed some statue or mosaic. Since the finder of these latter was required by law to notify the Service des Antiquités, which alone had authority to remove them, it was easier and more lucrative to convert the "find" into building stones or to dispose of it clandestinely. Thus interesting groups have been lost.

FRANCE PROTECTS THE RUINS

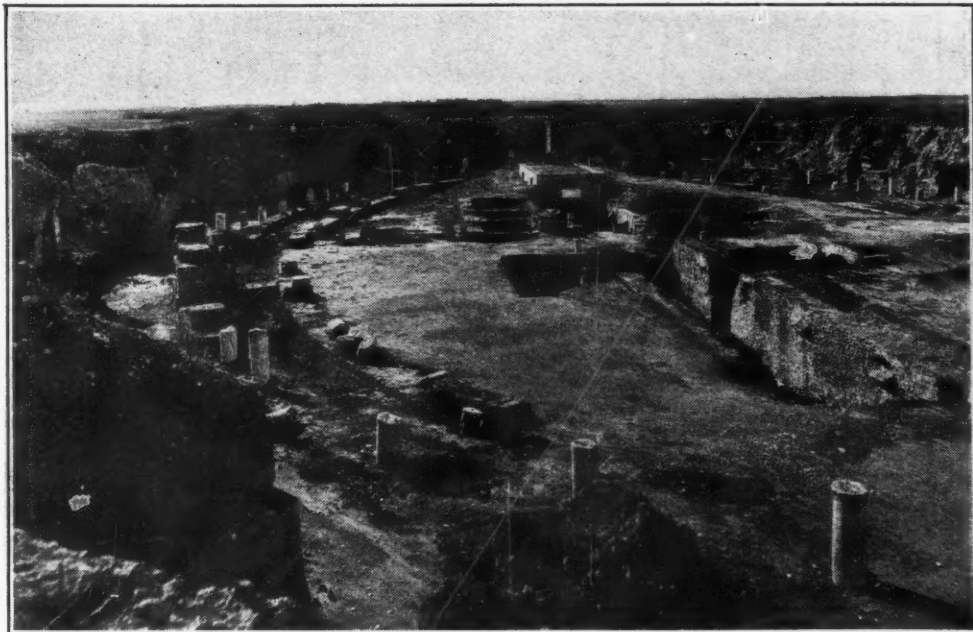
If certain quarters of ancient Carthage have disappeared, others, however, remain practically untouched—and not the least important. In the brief period since the World War and in spite of her crushing task of reparation, France has shown herself conscientious of her world responsibility as guardian of the Punic ruins. For Carthage is not the property alone of its modern inhabitants. It belongs to humanity. Its ruins are the record of one of the most poignant of human tragedies. Protective laws have been enacted and commissions established, notably by the former Resident General, M. Etienne Flandrin, who created the Commission des Monuments Historiques, the Service des Antiquités, which includes such scientific men as Père Delattre, Dr. L. Carton, M. Gauckler and M. Merlin, its present Director. Finally there is the Comité des Dames Amies de Carthage, composed of prominent women of the Regency, whose zeal and enthusiasm form a precious auxiliary in the colossal work they propose—none other than "the resuscitation of Carthage." And their pretensions would seem to be

increasingly justified by the rich results obtained so far.

The trolley from Tunis to Sidi-bou-Saïd passes the great cut (*tranchée*) which separates at Carthage the ruins of the Theatre from those of the Fountain of the Thousand Amphoræ. In this cut, and especially on its eastern side, one comes upon loose remains of walls from 1 meter to 1 meter 50 in height—the mean height of the houses at Timgad, Dougga, Pont-du-Fahs; an altar, a socle or statue-base, water conduits and basin, mosaics still upright, and the like. Not far from here some workmen, in removing a mosaic from the ruins of a villa, found beneath it the first steps of a stairway which led down into a cavern. The back of the cavern was closed by a wall. Behind the wall was the treasure of a temple that had been hidden by the pagan priests. In this lot was notably the delicious statue of Demeter, which is in the Bardo Museum. This takes us back to about 400 B. C., when the worship of the Greek gods, Demeter and Persephone, was introduced into Carthage.

In a depression which Père Delattre indicated as the possible site of the ancient Odéon, M. Gauckler directed excavations which reached to a depth of 7 or 8 meters. Here he found the admirable statue of Apollo with several others intact, in all a score of marble effigies, and nearly one hundred marble capitals delicately carved. The stage has the wall of the *pulpitum* almost intact, with the disposition of the back wall perfectly recognizable. There are many columns of different colored marbles, a large part of the arches that support the *gradins*, and several of these latter in white marble similar to the paving of the orchestra. The reconstruction of this monument should be simple, since the entire plan is clearly traceable. The wall of the *pulpitum*, with the curious customary disposition in exedra, the passages, the enigmatically arranged recesses, which are supposed to have served as resonators for the chorus, the rare marble overlaying portions of the ground, numerous shafts of pillars—all the elements are here for an imposing and beautiful restoration. The cavea of the Theatre at Timgad was in no better state of preservation.

Among the ruins discovered by Père Delattre are a charming edifice of two



The Amphitheatre of Carthage, where Saint Perpetua and Saint Felicita were martyred. The picture gives a good general view of the excavations

stories known as the Prison of Saint Perpetua and a fine cupola near Damous-el-Karita, surrounded by a circle of twelve granite pillars entirely separated by niches and admirably preserved. This tireless explorer found also another important basilica, that of Saint Cyprien, which crowns a picturesque ravine facing the sea.

Near to the site of the Odéon, Gauckler had previously come upon a remarkable ensemble, a street paved and lined with columns recalling Pompeii, and it led through a quarter of charming villas. The mosaics—with all else that was found here and transported to the Museum at Bardo—are of extreme beauty; shafts of delicate gray marble pillars matching the walls of the *atrium* and other chambers; a mosaic representing a variety of fishes was placed vertically in a room through which water flowed. A pretty basilica containing mosaics, a baptistry and bases of marble columns, broken, but bearing a handsome Greek cross, was exhumed by M. Gauckler in the heart of Carthage.

M. Merlin is the discoverer of the Isle of the Punic Admiralty, upon which stood the palace of Hamilcar, made famous by Flaubert in his "Salammbô." Its identity is established by inscriptions in the Phoenician or Punic lettering and by the triangular sign of Tanit, the Carthaginian Venus. Of several extremely large and fine columns found here one is of paramount interest. It is of stone recovered in stucco and has a finely cannelured shaft and handsome Ionic capital, corresponding to a description Appian has left of the palace; so that incontestably we are here in the presence of the most famous monument of ancient Carthage.

An interesting group of ruins is that of the cisterns of Bordj-Djedid, which have been restored to their original function of supplying water to the peninsula. A visit to these deep vaults, half lighted, under which amid massive pillars spreads a vast subterranean lake, is highly impressive.

A word about the fountain—one of the most beautiful of the ancient units—called Fountain of the Thousand Amphoræ (*La Fontaine aux Mille Amphores*), discovered in a charming site overlooking the sea by Dr. L. Carton. Its captation basin, which



Modern Carthage, where an electrical railway, telephone lines and up-to-date villas are to be seen near the ruins of the ancient city. The photograph shows the Avenue of Palms leading to the Plateau of Byrsa

is filled from a spring—the first to be found at Carthage—and infiltration gallery are of huge stones of the Punic period. From the gallery the water flows between two quays of cut stone through a perfectly preserved vaulted chamber 20 meters long and falls into a massive basin vaulted *en berceau*. The façade is ornamented by four supported pilasters. At a few steps from the fountain is the most colossal of the ruins, a wall 40 meters thick and a dozen meters high, which formed one of the angles of the “Wall of the Carthaginian Sea.”

Since this discovery, which is not yet terminated, that of the exquisite mosaic called “The Lady of the Fan” has been made. It has been taken to the Bardo Museum to be repaired, after which it is to be restored to the villa where it was found, beside the fountain which long ago shed upon it the coolness and the murmur of its waters.

FURTHER RESULTS PROMISED

Here must terminate this resumé of the discoveries which have been completed up to now. A large number of soundings are being actively made and give promise of results fully equal in importance to those already reached. Such is the great mass of the Baths of Antoninus, which underlie

several hills on the sea, and where soundings show the presence of mosaics, columns, vaulted halls, small altars, a fine Corinthian capital and a curious piece of sculpture in white marble of a nude man under the walls of Carthage. Half freed also is a circus where can be clearly traced the major part of the *spirna* or wall around which the chariots were raced. Then there are the great cisterns of Malga, today a poor village, the refuge of the last Carthaginians, miserable inheritors of so much glory. They have turned the immense open vaults into stables and silos.

It would be too long to give here a list of the excavations, which constitute in all sixty-two groups, and many of which may yet richly add to our knowledge of the glory that once was Carthage. In view not only of the activity of the Administration, ably seconded by the several auxiliary services before cited, and of the important sums appropriated for the work, but also of the truly grandiose plans already developed for a unified setting, we may confidently expect that it will not be long

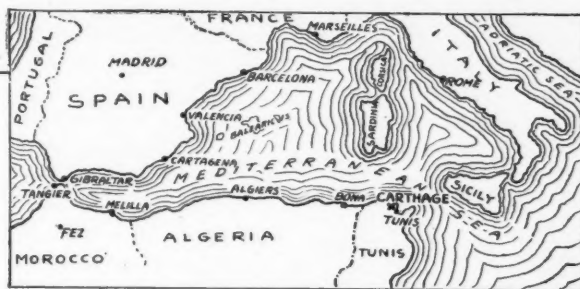
before Carthage takes its place with other great archaeological world centres. If the ruins cannot, from the wide area which they cover, constitute a complete and homogeneous ensemble, as at Pompeii or Timgad, they will possess other and compensating qualities, an incomparable beauty of setting in the flaming African background of their origin, extreme richness of ornamentation and unrivaled greatness of historic evocation.

Those who have known the Tunisia of the past few decades, who have followed her emergence under the pliable French rule and are familiar with her problems and struggles, see in her amazing response to the present impetus given her development the assurance of a great future. With her accessibility—for Tunis is nearer to Marseilles than either Algiers or Tangier

—her unexampled climate, her native population, the most tractable and advanced of any in North Africa, and her cultivated French life, which promises to make of Tunis a southern replica of Paris, she is already marked out as a future Winter resort, perhaps the coming playground of a fagged and migrant America.

And, while even an optimist writer must concede that some time may have to elapse before Tunisia can vie in public favor with Palm Beach or Santa Barbara or Barbados, it is not a wild forecast that accords to the convenient Tunisian shores, where living is reasonably low priced as well as abundant, an increasing lure for the true sun-hunter, the quester of mental change as of freshened outlook, be he owner of yachts or hobo on tin wheels, who feels very properly that the world is his sun-parlor.

Sketch map showing the location of Carthage with relation to Rome, Marseilles and Gibraltar



AIDING DISABLED SERVICE MEN

ACCORDING to the periodical publication of the International Labor Office, entitled "Information on Questions Concerning Disabled Men," France spent on the retaining of disabled soldiers during the year 1919, 13,591,550.98 francs, and during the year 1921, 18,627,291.54 francs. During the fiscal year 1921 the United States spent \$102,400,396, and during the first nine months of the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, the United States spent \$116,050,866. On July 1, 1921, France had 46 retraining centres in operation subsidized by the National Office

for the Disabled, and these centres were being attended by a total of but 3,081. On April 25, 1922, Great Britain had 21,966 men in training and 28,772 awaiting training.

On April 1, 1922, the United States had 108,200 disabled men in training, 96,953 of which were receiving a subsistence allowance. There have been 537,621 applications in this country for retraining, of which 303,911 have been declared admissible and 71,209 are still under consideration. The number of disabled men accepted for training is 145,499.

THE UNITED STATES OF RUSSIA

By ARNOLD MARGOLIN*

A discussion of the right of minority peoples in Russia to enjoy autonomy while entering into a scheme of national federation—Separatism and Imperialism a manifestation of slave psychology

IMPERIALISM, or Federation—which of these two political principles will win in the reorganization of the vast chaotic realm now known as Russia? By every legitimate right and on the basis of every historical precedent, the federative principle should be the victor. But before that victory comes, the fallacy of the old imperialistic principle must be exposed even when supported by spokesmen for the very people who have suffered from it most, and who, in full accord with slave psychology, have taken from the enslavers the policies of which they themselves have been the victims and applied these to the satisfaction of their own newly acquired nationalistic aspirations.

The developments of the federative principle in Russia, before the war and the revolution, was bound and hampered at every turn. The younger generation of university students and youths of that class spent all their intellectual energies on devising new principles and measures for the erection of the future Socialistic State. The mature generation was equally absorbed in the theories of Marx and other apostles of the future. The best representatives of the Russian intelligentsia devoted all their efforts to the task of freeing the serfs from their economic slavery. Very few, however, gave any thought to the national oppression in which lived all the peoples of Russia, with the sole exception of the dominant nationality, viz., the Great Russians. And yet the people of Great Russia comprised before the war less than one-half (a little over 40 per cent.) of the total population of the Great Russian Empire. This dominance of one people over another, and of one language over many other national tongues, created a privileged position which has been per-

petuated throughout the troubled period of the World War, the revolution and the rise of Bolshevik power.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man at the end of the eighteenth century, which brought undying fame to the French people, established the equality of civil and human rights of separate persons in the limits of any given State. Peoples, however, are also composed of separate individuals, yet the equality of the rights of peoples remains unrealized; and the Fourteen Points of Wilson, that great declaration of the twentieth century of the rights of peoples, have not penetrated the consciousness of even the most cultured and educated men of our day. Paul Miliukov, the well-known Russian statesman, insisted on taking from the Turks their capital, Constantinople, which was in language and population foreign to Russia, but he refused to concede to the Finns their own Finland. Russian statesmen approved the separation of the Czechs from German Austria, but they could not imagine the separation from Russia of Esthonia and Georgia (Grusia), to say nothing of the related Slavic Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the events of the past do not speak in favor of the wardship which Great Russia has assumed over the other parts of Russia. Stankevich, the author of a recent book, "The Fates of the Peoples of Russia," cites the well-known fact that in 1828 there were more schools in

* Mr. Margolin has been in close touch with the Ukrainian national movement since the second Russian revolution of 1917. Under the Central Rada and under the Government of Hetman Skoropadsky, he was judge of the Ukrainian Supreme Court. During the period of the Directorate, Mr. Margolin was for some time Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the Spring of 1919 he accompanied the Ukrainian Delegation to Paris. In 1920 he was head of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Great Britain.

Poland in proportion to the population than in 1900. Literacy is, of course, most easily acquired in the mother tongue. This accounts for the results regarding literacy in the provinces which are cited by Stankevich, and which indicate that in those localities where the population succeeded in organizing a local extra-legal school with instruction in the local language, the relative percentage of literacy stands high. On the other hand, wherever the population was satisfied with the Government schools, the number of literates is very low. In the Baltic provinces, where the influence of the cultured West was powerful, literacy flourished. In Ukraine, on the other hand, where it was forbidden for many years to print books, including even the Bible, in the Ukrainian language, the people remained ignorant and illiterate.

The old rulers of Russia did not understand that the edifice of the State can remain solid only if it rests on a firm foundation. Instead of deriving the power of the Russian State from its roots, the deep lying roots of its many peoples, they systematically attempted to reduce the historical and national lives of these people to one common administrative denominator, to a unity imposed from above.

Even at the present time, notwithstanding all the lessons of the past, the Russian intelligentsia does not fully realize the necessity not only to proclaim, but to extend complete equality of rights to all national elements, whether Great Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians or other ethnic groups. This applies not only to political organization, but also to culture and language. When a member of the Russian intelligentsia speaks of the advantages of the Russian language, which is admittedly richer and more highly developed than other national tongues spoken in Russia, one is reminded of the landowner who tries to demonstrate the advantages of large ownership over ownership on a small scale. In their way, both are right. Language, as well as one or another form of land ownership, develops in ratio with favorable conditions. The Bulgarians and the Serbians, whose languages were once characterized as crude peasant languages, developed, not so long after their liberation from Turkish bond-

age, a scientific and legal terminology in their own languages. In Denmark small land ownership brings better returns per acre than large ownership.

It is curious to observe how vaguely and erroneously the concepts of autonomy and federation have been understood by the Russian intelligentsia and the Russian political parties. Autonomy was for some reason regarded as inferior to federation. But the concept of autonomy is nothing fixed and definite, for autonomy can be very different in its scope and content. It may be slight as well as all-embracing. The whole confusion in concepts involved in the subordination of autonomy to federations was due to the fact that though even the most conscious and enlightened representatives of the Russian intelligentsia wanted to grant autonomy, they regarded it distinctly as a concession, and wished to limit it to very slight proportions. Such a form of autonomy would have been something smaller than that independence of the separate States which exists in real federative States, where the populations of each State stand for their own rights.

Federation, however, is not a concept opposed to autonomy. It represents but a form of voluntary combination of autonomous States on the basis of their common interests, marked by an agreement reinforced by a treaty. On the other hand, it is the essence, the kernel of the rights of the population residing in each locality and State. English terminology understands by autonomy a complete administrative independence, which applies also to a truly federative State, where the separate component parts independently conclude a treaty of unification with each other, as equal with equal.

In order to test the genuineness of the federalistic tendencies of some Russians in Paris I once proposed to one of them to have the name "Russia" eliminated and to designate the future federated State projected by them as "The United States of Eastern Europe." The very possibility of such a thought seemed to offend and shock him. Our conversation took place in the Summer of 1919, after the disruption of the Russian Empire, and my companion, a most intelligent and talented representative of the intelligentsia, was a sincere

advocate of the acceptance of a federative principle as the foundation of the future Russian Empire.

Of all the books recently written on the national question in its relation to federation by the members of the intelligentsia I have encountered but one distinguished by a deep and thoughtful penetration of these problems under present conditions and by a clear exposition of the author's attitude. The book is the one already referred to, Stankevich's "The Fates of the Peoples of Russia." In a striking yet concise form the author presents the most characteristic traits of White Russia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Trans-Caucasia, Finland and Poland. A separate chapter is devoted to each of these countries. Although educated on the background of Russian culture, and deeply responsive to it, Stankevich approaches all of these peoples, their languages, beliefs and customs with an unusual warmth and sympathy. The whole book sounds like a hymn to the equality of all peoples. The author passionately desires to substitute for the disrupted Russia an equally large and powerful federative State, and he is concerned with the ways and means toward the realization of this ideal. In the final chapter of his book, Stankevich rightly notes that the ideal can be achieved only on the basis of a new common agreement between the peoples. "The present problem," he writes, "is not to create multiplicity out of oneness, but, on the contrary, to create oneness out of multiplicity" (P. 347): "Russia can be erected only from the bottom. Not the independence of the small peoples, but the leveling Russian nationalism which disregards the problems of life is at present the destructive idea * * *" (ibid). "Why does not little Finland demand Petrograd as a guarantee against Russian aggression, when Great Russia, as a guarantee against possible danger on the part of Finland, demands the whole of Finland? * * *" (P. 348). "It would be an original theory to declare that the presence of a good harbor on the territory of a certain people does not give it any advantage, but, on the contrary, dooms it to slavery at the hand of another people" (P. 350).

Stankevich insists that centralization has led to the downfall of Russia, and appeals to the feeling of historic justice and the mutual benefit of federation to the peoples who have declared themselves independent. He finds that they, and they alone, the very peoples of the former Russian Empire, must in the future build a federated State on the foundation of a common agreement. "The best and only guarantee against Russia," says he, addressing these peoples, "is for you to build it * * *" (P. 370). "The complete liberation of peoples and even their temporary administrative and legal separateness correspond much better to the spirit of the times than their renewed enslavement" (P. 354).

The noble federalism of Stankevich is not by any means inspired by military considerations. He is an opponent of war, having himself but recently gone through it, and advocates universal disarmament. But his motives are economic and cultural, and he rightly indicates that "the evolution of the entire world proceeds in the direction of great groupings of peoples" (P. 365).

But much time will pass before these healthy and just thoughts will penetrate the consciousness of the thin layer of intellectuals who have survived the sufferings of the Russian intelligentsia. But it will take equally long before it can be made clear to the peoples who have awakened from national sleep and who are now seeking their national and political self-determination what the true relations are between the problem of nationality and the system of State building.

I have, for instance, encountered Ukrainian chauvinists who could not understand the necessity of the inner organization of the Ukraine on a federative basis in view of her large proportions and her forty million population. Not unlike the Russian centralists, they spoke of a unified and centralized Ukraine. My reference to the little Switzerland, built on strict federative principles, did not convince them. There were some among them (although these were but exceptions) who dreamed already of the extension of the boundaries of Ukraine to the Caspian Sea, and even to Turkey and Constantinople, as

future colonies of the Ukraine. All such dreams are but the heritage of Russian imperialism, in the spirit of which these men were educated.

Involuntarily one thinks of the legend of Moses who led the Jewish people out of Egypt, and for forty years led them about the desert until he brought them to the promised land. Forty years had to elapse before the old generation had disappeared, which had imbibed into its

very flesh and blood the psychology of Egyptian slavery. The slave almost always borrows the customs, habits and opinions of his master. He may hate him, but he imitates him. Is it possible that forty years will again be required for the disappearance of slave psychology in Russia? One longs to hope and to believe that the future peaceful co-operation of her liberated peoples will be realized much sooner.

GREECE AND THE NEAR EAST

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor of *Atlantis*, Greek Daily

THE world was startled to read in the newspapers on Aug. 1 that the Greek Army was moving against Constantinople, that allied troops were advancing to counter-attack, and that the whole Near East would be on fire before long. The fact that the date was the eighth anniversary of the World War was in itself enough to create a stir and arouse hardly slumbering memories. Yet nothing happened, because Greece, whose army was advancing toward Constantinople, was careful before undertaking that move, not only to notify the Allies, but even to ask for their permission. This was refused on the ground that such a move would create international complications.

Greece is not a trouble-maker in the East. Her object there has always been one of peace, order and progress, and this program of hers is nowhere better illustrated than in that large area of Asia Minor which is held by Greek troops.

A country looking for trouble would hardly ask the Allies for permission to enter Constantinople, to which city King Constantine and the Hellenic nation have a better claim than either the Turks or the Allies. To take the military standpoint alone, the 80,000 Greek troops holding all the European key positions to Constantinople could never be seriously opposed by the 8,000 Allies who form the international garrison of the Sultan's capital, while the 200,000 men who make up the bulk of the Greek army in Asia Minor would always be in a position to impose that army's will on the Nationalist Turks

of Mustapha Kemal. The fact alone that since the battle of Angora the Greek Army has been the absolute master in Asia Minor—that Kemal has not made even the slightest attempt to approach the vital railroad from Eski-Shehr to Afiun-Karahissar—is the best proof of the Turkish weakness on that whole front. Had Greece been inclined to take Constantinople by military action alone, there would not have been the slightest doubt of her success.

Such a plan, however, would involve serious complications and ominous risks. For instance, one would have to reckon with the possibility of allied naval action, which would expose Constantinople to the dangers of death and destruction, to say nothing of what the Greek Army would have done in such a case. Then, there was the danger of serious disagreements among the Allies themselves on any course of policy regarding Constantinople, while the prospect of a desperate Russian intervention from the north would be lurking in the background, with all that such an eventuality would entail. To say that Greece's military occupation of Constantinople would most likely provoke a new world war is perhaps too much; such a result, however, is not beyond the range of possibility.

Greece, within sight of her goal of five centuries and fully able to reach it, has made one of the greatest sacrifices in her history, and King Constantine, whose armies were ready and eager to take Constantinople, rendered a supreme service to the cause of European peace when he or-

dered his troops to bow to the will of the Allies.

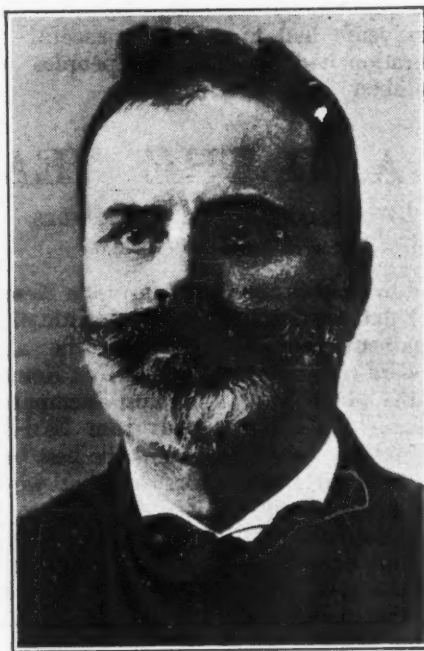
If the Greek desire for peace in the Near East required further proof, this is amply furnished by the recent act of the Greek Government granting full autonomy to Asia Minor. Without reviewing all the events since the occupation of Smyrna with allied sanction in 1919, it may suffice here, in order to make clear the meaning of this latest Greek move, to trace briefly the chief steps which led to the present situation. After the Nationalist Turks rose in rebellion against the Sèvres Treaty, which was signed (August, 1920) but never ratified, the Allies accepted the offer of M. Venizelos to impose the treaty by force of arms. After winning more territory than that accorded Greece by the Sèvres Treaty, the Greek armies, for lack of reinforcements, could do no more than hold Smyrna and Broussa (Fall of 1920), while Mustapha Kemal held the apparently impregnable line of Eski-Shehr-Karahissar. Then came the new Greek elections and the return of King Constantine (Dec. 19, 1920). The war was renewed with vigor; a great Greek drive on Eski-Shehr occurred in March, 1921, and when this failed, through Mustapha Kemal's transfer of troops from Cilicia following the treaty with France, a new drive took place in July, 1921, as a result of which the Eski-Shehr-Afiun-Karahissar line was taken by storm. This capture of the railroad was followed in August by the famous Angora battle, in which the Greeks, after heavy losses on both sides and after reaching a point only fifty miles west of

Angora, withdrew to avoid further slaughter and occupied the positions they now hold. Mustapha Kemal, after attempting once or twice to regain his old positions, found the task so costly that he ceased attacks on the Greek Army barring his way.

The result of these various campaigns, it should now be noted, was largely territorial. To begin with, the Treaty of Sèvres allowed Greece a territory of only 16,000 square kilometers. The Greek Army today holds a much larger territory, its width alone being 116 kilometers. In the Asia Minor zone, as defined in the Sèvres Treaty, the population amounted to less than a million people; at present Greece rules over 3,000,000 people. This does not spell a Turkish victory. More than that, in the territory occupied and administered by Greece, not only perfect order exists, but a general economic, agricultural and social development is

well under way, in full contrast with the reign of terror and massacre and incendiarism as exemplified in the domain of Mustapha Kemal.

Notwithstanding all this, a serious effort was made in the last two years to neutralize these accomplishments of the Greek Nation by turning this whole territory over to the defeated Turks. It was with this aim that French policy left no stone unturned in its effort to force the Greeks to evacuate Asia Minor. Since March, 1921, a number of allied conferences have taken place, with the object of settling the Asia Minor question according to the French formula, but the question has been brought no nearer a solution. The Allies proposed early in April, 1922,



(Photo International)

PETROS PROTOPAPADAKIS

The new Premier of Greece, whose proposed solution of the Asia Minor problem has startled the Allies.

an armistice between the Greeks and the Turks; but Mustapha Kemal rejected it, because he wanted the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks as a preliminary, a condition which neither Greece nor the Allies accepted. Again, after numerous complaints against the treatment meted out by the Turks to the Greek Christian populations of Anatolia, the allied powers reached a decision to send a special commission into Anatolia to examine those charges. Mustapha Kemal again objected, with the result that this decision may eventually be frustrated.

It was under all these circumstances that Greece decided to declare the whole of Western Asia Minor an autonomous political entity, under the protection of the Greek Army and under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

AUTONOMY JUSTIFIED

Greece cannot justly be called imperialistic on account of this act, for she disclaims the *annexation* of Asia Minor, and is satisfied with its *autonomy*. The Treaty of Sèvres not being ratified, and the chances of its ratification becoming daily more remote, Greece cannot be blamed for pursuing in Greek Asia Minor the same policy that Great Britain is applying in non-British Palestine and France in non-French Syria. If they are right, Greece is right. If it is a good thing to give Syria self-government under the pro-

tection of France, it must be equally good to give Asia Minor autonomy under the protection of Greece.

Going further into the plan of granting self-government to Asia Minor, we see that it is the complete elimination of Kemalist Turkey as a military factor that has made the autonomy of a large area of that country possible. Judging from what has happened in the recent past, we cannot say that the autonomy of the Smyrna region, as stated in the Sèvres Treaty, would be a success if Kemal had been allowed to be the master of the situation fifty miles from Smyrna.

We may reasonably expect that the Allies will eventually recognize the new state of things in Asia Minor, and that they will try to bring about a solution in the Near Eastern question on the basis of accomplished fact, viz.:

1. Constantinople and the Straits will remain under international control, subject to a régime to be perfected in some allied conference in the near future.
2. Western Asia Minor will become a self-governing political and economic unit, under the protection of the Greek Army and the supervision of the League of Nations.
3. Angora will remain the capital of Nationalist Turkey.

Such a solution of the Eastern question is possible, because it already exists, needing only the official sanction of the Allies. And this solution will finally impose itself, because there is no other at present available.

THE COCAINE HABIT IN FRANCE

FRENCH medical opinion is seriously alarmed at the spread of the cocaine habit in France. The drug has entirely ousted morphine, and its devotees and vendors can easily escape detection. The agents seldom carry the cocaine on their persons, but are followed by others who distribute it, and who receive a commission amounting to fifty or sixty francs a night. There has actually been established a cocaine exchange in Paris, and lately the price has rapidly advanced. The drug can be purchased for about 1,300 francs a kilogram and is sold for about 25 francs a gram, yielding a profit of more

than 20,000 francs (normally \$4,000) a kilogram. The doctors recommend (1) the expulsion for at least five years of all convicted traffickers in cocaine and of all who are proved guilty of aiding others to obtain it; (2) the increase of penalties to from five to ten years' imprisonment; (3) the compulsory closing of establishments in which it has been proved that the traffic has been carried on; (4) special surveillance in the Custom Houses on the frontier and in the provinces; (5) the creation of an international commission to enforce the application of an international law; (6) police action throughout France.

THE CLAIMS OF GREECE TO THRACE

By NICHOLAS C. CULOLIAS

To the Editor of *Current History*:

I ASK your indulgence to correct a number of misstatements in the study of Constantine Stephanove, professor of Sofia and chief of the Bulgarian propaganda in Switzerland during the great war, which appeared in your July issue. Professor Stephanove alleges that the American delegation was against the award of Thrace to Greece. He attributes President Wilson's concurrence in the Franco-English decision in favor of Greece solely to the cleverness of Mr. Venizelos, "who is the antithesis of Mr. Wilson." Professor Stephanove also assures us that Wilson and Venizelos "eyed each other with enmity during the Peace Conference."

When President Wilson came back from his first trip to France and was asked his impressions he declared that among the great men he had met at Paris he thought none was greater than Mr. Venizelos. And in a letter addressed to a Greek society only three months ago Mr. Wilson paid a very warm tribute to Mr. Venizelos and hoped that Greece might soon avail herself of his genius. That is not quite the way enemies express themselves about each other.

As to the opinion of the American delegation at Paris on Thrace, I quote the text of the report of the Allied and American Commission of Experts, on the basis of which Thrace was awarded to Greece:

March 7, 1919.

EASTERN THRACE. — The Commission agrees unanimously that the claims of Greece to the part of Turkish Thrace which might be left outside the zone of Constantinople are justified. The American, British and French delegations are of the opinion that the frontiers be fixed as they are indicated on May No. 2.

The Constantinople zone was not at that time delimited. President Wilson hoped to be able to undertake the mandate for the entire Turkish Empire. But when the Senate refused the responsibility the President, in a note to M. Jusserand, agreed fully that Greece should be given all of Thrace as far as the Tchatalja line. He only expressed the hope that Greece would yield Adrianople to Bulgaria in order to reconcile the Bulgarians.

Professor Stephanove adduces a part of the speech of Mr. Venizelos, delivered in the Greek Chamber on May 15, 1913, to show that the accession of Thrace to Greece will weaken that country. Indeed, Mr. Venizelos did refuse to annex Thrace in 1913, because, as he explained, without a foothold on the Asia Minor mainland Greece could not long hold Thrace in the face of a strong Bulgaria and a strong Turkey. But in 1920 conditions had changed. Bulgaria had been defeated and disarmed; Turkey had been crushed; Greece was in Asia Minor; Venizelos had strengthened Greece by an alliance with Yugoslavia, Rumania and Great Britain, and had won the tolerance of France.

Professor Stephanove complains that a plebiscite was not held in Thrace. If a plebiscite had been held in Thrace in 1920 neither Greece nor Bulgaria could have won. The Bulgarian population of Eastern Thrace never was more than 112,000, and after 1913, by a special treaty with Turkey, nearly the entire Bulgarian population of Eastern Thrace was exchanged for an equal number of Turks from Bulgaria, who were settled in Eastern Thrace. Since 1914 the ruthless persecution against the Greeks had either killed or deported the great majority of the Greeks from Eastern Thrace. So that when the Bulgarians and Turks capitulated in 1918 Eastern Thrace had been turned by fire and sword into a Turkish province. Since the Greek occupation about four-fifths of the Thracian Greeks who had been deported have returned to their homes, the other fifth having perished. Does Professor Stephanove wish to tell us that a plebiscite held in Eastern Thrace in 1920, when all the Greeks were in exile, would have been a just measure for determining the national character of that province?

Now, in 1920 elections were held in Thrace. Many Turkish Deputies were elected by the Thracian Turks, but not one Bulgarian. And we challenge any Bulgarian to prove that the Bulgarians were denied the same right to vote.

294 Washington Street, Boston, Mass., July 24, 1922.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Developments in the coal and railroad strikes—Pershing Plans for national defense—Some effects of immigration legislation—The settlement of American war claims against Germany—Tariff amendment to the Fordney-McCumber bill

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

THE strike of the coal miners in the bituminous and anthracite coal fields was still continuing when these pages went to press. The Department of Labor announced on July 22, upon the completion of its survey of the coal mining industry, that approximately 610,000 coal miners were on strike, while 185,000 continued at work. The survey showed that no miners were on strike in Alabama and Virginia, but that the full working strength of the miners had been made idle by the strike in the bituminous fields of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania.

The Federal and State authorities have been unceasing in their efforts to compose the issue between the miners and operators, and insure a resumption of work. Presi-

dent Harding, on July 17, invited the owners to return to properties and resume mining. Though Federal aid was not promised, the suggestion was construed as meaning that troops would be used if necessary. "I cannot permit you to depart," the President said, "without reminding you that coal is a national necessity, the ample supply of which is essential, alike to common welfare and interstate commerce. The freedom of action on the part of workers, and on the part of employers, does not measure in importance with that of public welfare and national security. I therefore invite you to return to your mine properties and resume operation."

There was no concealing the fact that grave concern had been given Government officials by verified reports concerning the

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

GETTING CLOSER AND CLOSER

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association

HOLDING UP IMPORTANT TRAFFIC

dwindling of coal output in the various States. No new production had been attained in Pennsylvania. Unionized coal production was negligible, and non-union production in West Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky had decreased far below the level of preceding months.

Though the operators had accepted the President's offer of arbitration, the committee of the United Mine Workers on July 15 rejected the proposal. The President did not comment to the mine workers' committee on the decisions reached except to say that he hoped they fully understood the responsibility they assumed in declining the Government's offer of instant adjustment of the strike and resumption of mining.

On July 18, the President sent identical telegrams to the Governors of twenty-eight coal-producing States, calling upon those State authorities to give operators and employees the assurance of maintained order and the protection of lawful endeavor in the resumption of mining, and assuring them of the prompt and full support of the Federal Government, whenever and wherever they found their agencies of law and order inadequate to meet the situation.

"No cause is so important," the President said, "as that of common welfare, and there must be a suppression of every unlawful hindrance to the service of that cause and of the task of lawful protection and the maintenance of order. The Federal Government pledges to give every assistance at its command."

More than a score of Governors replied within twenty-four hours, pledging State protection for a resumption of mining. Two exceptions were Governor Morrison of North Carolina and Governor Ritchie of Maryland. Both withheld approval of the President's invitation, the former declaring that he thought the policy of national and State intervention in labor disputes unwise, and the latter asserting that the traditions of his State were

those of a people who have settled such matters without the aid of bayonets.

In conformity with their endorsements, the Governors of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana sent troops of national guardsmen through the disturbed areas in their respective coal fields. This led to disorders in many places. At Staunton, Ind., a hidden band fired on Indiana troops, and the guardsmen replied with rifles and machine guns. Not many men returned to work in the mines compared with those that still remained on strike.

In view of the lessening coal supply, President Harding framed a distribution plan, and on July 26 appointed Secretary of Commerce Hoover chairman of a commission to direct the transportation and distribution of the available coal supply. The selection of Mr. Hoover as chairman of the commission made him virtually a dictator in the movement of trains and interstate commerce in the allocation of coal supplies from the producing mines and in the control of coal prices. With him on the commission were Attorney General Daugherty, Secretary Fall and Commissioner Aitchinson of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Later on, H. B.

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

HE'S BIG ENOUGH TO SPANK BOTH

Spencer of Washington, D. C., was appointed by the President to act temporarily as Federal coal administrator. Mr. Hoover announced on July 29 that the Government would limit its activities in coal distribution to interstate problems. He also made it plain that though the Government would endeavor to control prices at the mines, each State was expected to make rules and regulations to control speculation within its boundaries.

On July 25 the Interstate Commerce Commission issued orders declaring a public emergency to exist, because of the rail and coal strikes, and formulated regulations under which the available coal supplies were to be distributed where the need was greatest. The facilities of all railroads east of the Mississippi River were placed under the direction of the Government.

Indications of a settlement of the strike were given on Aug. 10, when a committee of miners and operators at Cleveland authorized an appointment of a sub-scale committee to draft a new wage schedule and agreement. The operators' tonnage represented at the conference was estimated at 20 per cent. of the central com-

petition field, with an output of about 40,000,000 tons. Union officials estimated that representatives of mine owners controlling 100,000,000 tons were also on hand ready to sign any wage scale that might be agreed upon.

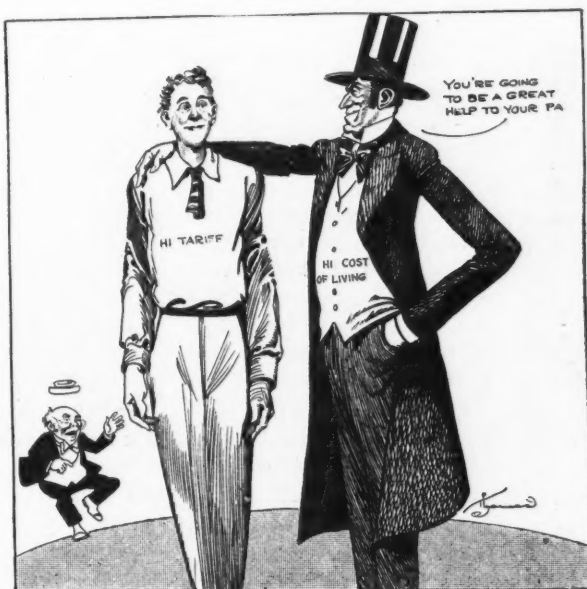
A step toward peace was also taken on Aug. 4 by the Illinois coal operators. Though they declined to meet in conference at Cleveland with operators from other States they made a new offer to the miners for a settlement of the strike within the State, on a basis more favorable than any terms they had before offered. "Acceding to, and being governed by the request of the President of the United States," said the letter, "we are prepared at once to open our mines for work, paying the wage scale in effect at the expiration of the last contract; and to avoid possible further disruption of coal production this Fall and Winter, when the coal supply will be dangerously short, even under the best of conditions, we will agree that the old wage scale shall remain effective until March 31, 1923." The belief of the operators that their offer would bring about peace was based upon the fact that it conceded to most of the seven items drafted at the miners' convention at Indianapolis.

These were:

1. Continuation of the wage scale prevailing then.
2. A six-hour day and a five-day week. (Thirty hours a week instead of forty-eight hours.)
3. Time and one-half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays.
4. Elimination of certain differentials as between States and districts.
5. Elimination of the automatic penalty clause from the working agreement.
6. A weekly payday instead of every two weeks.
7. A two-year contract, to expire March 31, 1924.

The operators gave as their reasons for refusing to attend the Cleveland conference the fact that two such meetings called by Lewis and which they had agreed to attend had not materialized and that the

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

FATHER AND SON

miners had refused to agree to President Harding's plan to end the strike.

THE RAILROAD STRIKE

Quite as important as the coal strike, and in some of its aspects even more threatening to the industries of the nation,

was the strike of the railroad shopmen, which went into effect on July 1. Both sides remained stubborn in their determination to win. Contrary reports continued to be issued from headquarters of the railroad executives and of the unions. The former declared that they were securing plenty of men in place of the strikers, and that in general their operation was proceeding as usual. The strikers, on the other hand, declared that the equipment was rapidly deteriorating, and that if the men held out a short time longer they were bound to win.

In this, as in the coal strike, the President has been indefatigable in trying to bring the opposing sides together. An appeal, on the acceptance of which he based great hopes, was sent to the railroad executives under date of July 31, in which he urged that the following proposals be adopted:

1. Railway managers and workmen are to agree to recognize the validity of all decisions of the Railway Labor Board, and to carry out faithfully such decisions as contemplated by the law.

2. The carriers will withdraw all lawsuits growing out of the strike, and Labor Railway Board decisions which have been involved in the strike may be taken, in the exercise of recognized rights of either party, to the Railway Labor Board for rehearing.

3. All employees now on strike to be returned to work and to their former positions with seniority and other rights unimpaired. The representatives of the carriers and the representatives of the organizations especially agree that there will be no discrimination by either party against the employees who did or did not strike.

The railway executives rejected President Harding's plan as far as it referred to the qualified restoration of seniority rights. The other suggestions, made with the view of establishing unchallenged authority of the Railway Labor Board, were accepted conditionally.

On the other hand, full acceptance of the peace proposals was voted on Aug. 2 by leaders of the striking railway shopmen who, however, gave their own interpretation of each of the three suggestions: "We accept reluctantly, it is true," the answer read. "The committee wishes to carry out the terms of settlement in utmost good faith and in aid of the general welfare. If these proposals fail to bring

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

LOOK OUT FOR THOSE LAST STRAWS

[American Cartoon]



—Knickerbocker Press, Albany

BURNING THE CANDLE AT BOTH ENDS

[American Cartoon]



—© Kansas City Star

DOG DAYS

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER

about the results which you desire, the responsibility of failure will not rest upon representatives of the organized employees."

Though disappointed at the failure of both sides to accept his proposition, the President was not deterred from submitting a new proposal on Aug. 7. In this he assumed that the question of seniority rights was the crux of the dispute, and the only thing on which the opposing sides were still divided. The essential part of his proposition to both the executives and the strikers was contained in the following paragraph:

Mindful of the pledge of both the executives and the striking workmen to recognize the validity of all decisions by the Railway Labor Board, I am hereby calling on the striking workmen to return to work, calling upon the carriers to assign them to work, calling upon both workmen and carriers, under the law, to take the question in dispute to the Railway Labor Board for rehearing and decision and a compliance by both with the decision rendered.

In the meantime legislative representatives of three of the four railroad brother-

hoods in Washington appealed to the President, asking for a conference. Representations were made that the condition of railroad equipment had so deteriorated that the lives of engineers, trainmen and firemen were in danger. A menace was also seen in the use of troops. The leaders of the Big Four Brotherhoods advised their members in case of personal danger or insult to remain away from their work. They also declared that their unions had reached the limit of endurance, and that they could not hold their men much longer.

Pending a settlement of the strike, it was understood that the President had conferred with members of Congress with a view to having the backing of that body in measures that might seem necessary to be taken for public protection.

ARMY OFFICERS RETIRED

Referring to the elimination of 2,500 army officers in compliance with recent legislation by Congress, the War Department announced on July 18 that regulations governing the reduction were ready

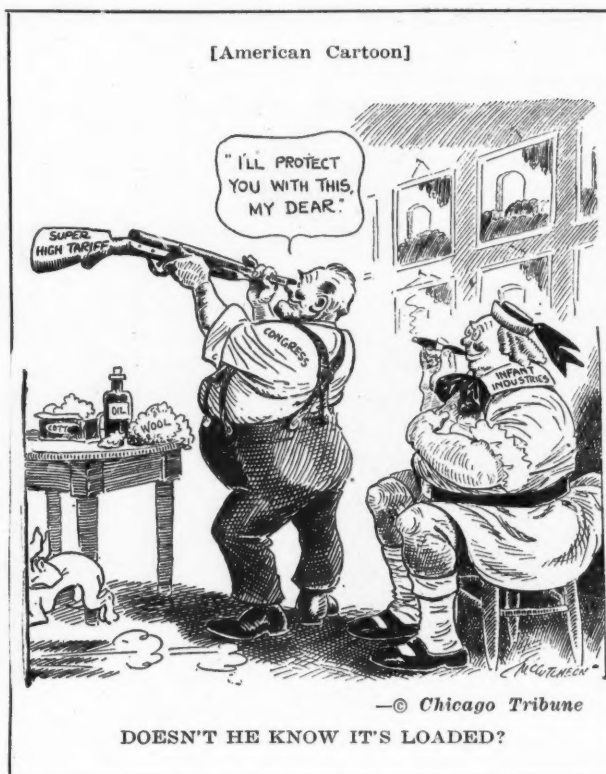
to be issued, that "the interests of the Government will be paramount to those of the individuals," and that officers to be retired or discharged "will be those whom the board considers, for any reason, least suitable for retention under the circumstances." The number of officers to be removed from the active list in the various grades is fixed by law, but this is subject to some variations, which may be made in the discretion of the board, involving the holding of additional officers for absorption and for recommendations in the next lower grade.

"During the period of making the required reduction," the War Department announced, "the normal process of termination of active service, under laws other than the act of June 30, 1922, will continue. Thus by voluntary retirement on over thirty years' service, retirement for personal disability, retirement or discharge of Class B officers, dismissals and resignations, a portion of the reduction required by the law will be accomplished."

The board will consider officers' previous, present and probable future usefulness and relative value to the Government, taking into account age, length of service, experience, time yet to serve, physical condition, efficiency, readiness and all other factors entering into a thorough consideration of usefulness and relative value. Officers selected for dismissal will be notified confidentially.

PLANS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

It was announced on July 23 that plans for the maintenance of a national position in readiness for defense had been submitted by General Pershing to Secretary of War Weeks, calling for a "reasonable development" of the economical military



system, sanctioned by the National Defense act of 1920. If such a development of the organization peace establishment of the regular army, National Guard and the organized reserves could be counted on, General Pershing said, the practicability was assured of plans that have been prepared for keeping the nation ready for defense in any emergency.

General Pershing understands the National Defense act to mean that the peacetime establishment of regulars, guardsmen and organized reserves shall be organized and able to prevent the invasion of this country at the outbreak of hostilities, so that without danger of an adverse decision of arms, at the beginning of a war, the United States may go ahead without interruption in the expansion and development of its forces, in accordance with the character of the emergency then confronting the nation.

In his memorandum the General empha-

[American Cartoon]



SOFT MUSIC BY THE SNAKE CHARMER

sized the fact that before the World War any such plans for national defense and military readiness were impracticable, because our military resources were too limited and the War Department lacked legal sanction for the development of such a system. But with the experience gained in the World War, the asset of a reservoir of personnel, and the authority of law granted by the National Defense act, we have now been able to prepare for definite defense plans. Naturally the exact details of the plan were withheld, but the general idea set forth in the memorandum was first to meet invasion by preventing the landing of enemy forces at the outbreak of hostilities, and then mobilizing a new army on the skeleton basis that we already possess.

AMERICAN SHIPPING GAINS

A striking fact given in Lloyds Register of Shipping for 1922-23 was that since

1914 the increase in sea-going merchant ships owned in the United States had been nearly sixty-one times the increase of similar ships owned by British firms, the tonnage of the respective increases being 10,669 and 176. In spite, however, of the immense strides of the United States, the United Kingdom still heads the list of maritime competitors, even without the added tonnage of the British dominions. The figures for seven of the greatest seafaring nations, compared with those of eight years ago, were thus stated:

United Kingdom—June, 1914, 18,877,000 tons; June, 1922, 19,053,000.

British Dominions—June, 1914, 1,407,000; June, 1922, 2,201,000.

United States—June, 1914, 1,837,000; June, 1922, 12,506,000.

Japan—June, 1914, 1,642,000; June, 1922, 3,325,000.

France—1,918,000 and 3,303,000.

Holland—1,471,000 and 2,613,000.

Germany—6,098,000 and 1,783,000.

Apart from Germany, Greece is the only country now owning less tonnage than in 1914. The figures for Germany show that from the position of the second greatest seafaring power which she held in 1914 she has dropped to ninth on the list.

In 1914 the United Kingdom owned nearly 44½ per cent. of the world's seagoing steam tonnage. Her present percentage is 33½. Austria-Hungary, which is now shown in the tonnage list as nil, owned 1,052,000 tons in 1914. Since last year the world's total steam and motor tonnage has increased by 2,500,000 tons. In 1914 the United Kingdom owned nearly 44½ per cent. of the world's seagoing steam tonnage. Her present percentage is 33½.

Since last year the world's total steam and motor tonnage has increased by 2,500,000 tons. Germany heads the list of nations with the largest increases, her shipping having grown by 1,131,000 tons during the year. The British dominions have added 258,000 tons to their merchant fleets, but British tonnage decreased by 231,000, owing, no doubt, to the large amount of tonnage sold abroad.

NEW LAW BARS IMMIGRATION

The 3 per cent. limitation immigration law has proved an effectual bar against any overwhelming movement of immigrants from Southern and Eastern European countries to the United States, Secretary of Labor Davis announced on Aug. 5 in making public a survey of immigration figures for the fiscal year just closed. The figures made public showed that Northern and Western European countries had fallen far short of filling their quotas, while the Southern and Eastern countries of Europe were sending just as many to America as would be accepted.

A summary of the immigrants admitted during the fiscal year which ended June 30 showed that the following countries sent to this country 100 per cent. of the quotas allowed them under the 3 per cent. law: Belgium, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Palestine, Turkey, Syria, the miscellaneous European and Asiatic countries—Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

In contrast with these nations the countries of Northern and Western Europe in some instances, it was explained, sent less than one-half of the number permitted under the quota law. Germany sent 28 per cent. of its allotment, Sweden 43 per cent., Norway 48 per cent., The Netherlands 66 per cent. and France 75 per cent.

"The figures clearly indicated," the Secretary said, "that the 3 per cent. limit has proved no bar to immigrants from the Nordic races, for it fixes the limitation well above the number of immigrants of this class normally coming to America, but it has operated effectually to check the stream from Southern and Eastern Europe, eliminating the widespread fear that the country would be flooded with immigrants from war-stricken Europe."

WAR FRAUD BOARD

On July 20 it was stated at the Department of Justice that the final decision on prosecuting or dropping war contract cases would rest with a special board of review and not with any one person in the department. Announcement was also made of the organization of the special division authorized by the \$500,000 Congressional appropriation resolution to investigate

war fraud cases. So broad are the powers of this special board that not even Attorney General Daugherty can drop a war contract suit without its authorization. This indicated a departure from the original plan, when Mr. Daugherty declared that final decision as to what suits should be pressed and what cases dropped would rest with him and him alone.

The new body will be known as the Board of Administration and Review, and will be composed of the Attorney General, six of his assistants and others whom he may desire to appoint.

AMERICAN CLAIMS ON GERMANY

A bill directing the President to name a commission of six American citizens to determine and settle all claims of the Government of the United States or of all American citizens growing out of the war against Germany was introduced in the Senate on July 20 by Senator Underwood of Alabama. The Senator said that though many bills had been introduced into Congress to return property seized by the alien property custodian to the original German owners, not a single measure had been introduced looking to the indemnification of the Americans whose relatives were murdered or whose property was destroyed by the forces of Germany in violation of the rules of civilized warfare and of international law.

Speaking on the bill on July 24, Senator Underwood further stated that policies now being pursued by the Government might lead not only to the return of the dye patents to their original German owners, but might mean eventual return of the great transatlantic terminal properties in Hoboken, of the wireless plant at Sayville, L. I., and practically all other properties that had been taken over during the war. He declared that the agitation over the return of these properties to a great extent was being directed by German lawyers, who sought also the transfer to Germans of all the profits that had been made by the United States Government, or under individual American control.

It was stated on July 28 that Secretary of State Hughes was opposed to the Underwood plan. Mr. Hughes, who was said in this matter to have the support of the

President, believed in the adjudication of German and American claims before a mixed commission on which there would be American and German representatives and that it would be unwise to have these claims handled by an all-American body. It was stated that Mr. Hughes was in negotiation with the German Government over the formulation of a treaty providing for the creation of a mixed claims commission and he was understood to regard Senator Underwood's proposal as merely hampering the negotiations. The Underwood bill lost all importance with the announcement on Aug. 10 that an agreement had been signed on this date in Berlin for the determination of all American claims against Germany through a mixed claims commission, the American member on which, Judge William R. Day, was appointed on the day the agreement was signed.

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE

In a letter to Hamilton Holt of New York, President of the Woodrow Wilson Democracy, Secretary Hughes on July 19 declared that the separate treaty with Germany was negotiated because it had become perfectly clear to the Harding Administration that the resubmission of the Treaty of Versailles to the United States Senate with suggested reservations would have no other result than the renewal of the former fruitless debate over the treaty, and its continuance for an indefinite period. "In short," Secretary Hughes wrote, "a separate treaty was the only practical way of dealing with the question."

The Secretary also asked Mr. Holt to disabuse his mind of any notion that the present Secretary of State was invested with any authority to make the United States Government a member of the League of Nations, upon such reservations as Mr. Hughes might propose. "Entrance into the League of Nations on any condition," said Mr. Hughes, "could be accomplished only by treaty, and treaties cannot be made except in a constitutional manner." The Secretary on July 16, in an interview with the correspondent of *The New York Times*, defended his course in dealing with the League of Nations, and answered criti-

cisms that he had been discourteous to the League and had hampered it in its work. These criticisms had been voiced in a statement issued by Raymond D. Fosdick, former Assistant Secretary of the League. Mr. Fosdick had stated that the attitude of the State Department on the League's program of mandates had nearly wrecked the whole plan. Mr. Hughes said that he deeply regretted that such a statement had been made. He felt obliged, he said, to characterize it as "seriously misleading." He thought it a pity that those who were so keenly interested in the work of the League of Nations should not endeavor at least to be fair to their own Government. He pointed out that the Government had always intended to show courtesy toward the League, explained the delay in replying to its communications, and pointed out that records showed that the Wilson Administration itself had answered only fifteen out of thirty-three notes sent to it.

THE SUGAR AND WOOL TARIFF

By a vote of 43 to 22 in the Senate on July 26 the Lenroot amendment, fixing 60 per cent. as a maximum *ad valorem* equivalent of the specific rates in the wool schedule was rejected. Eight Republicans voted for the reduction, but their defection was offset by the vote of seven Democrats who were in favor of higher duties, some of which ran as high as 137 per cent. on the coarser grades of wool. Senator Lenroot, in the course of the debate, warned his Republican colleagues that the adoption of the committee rates would mean, in his opinion, the defeat of the Republican Party and the return in the not distant future to tariff rates constructed along the lines of the present Underwood law.

On Aug. 8 the Senate fixed the tariff on sugar at 2.3 cents per pound against the world, and 1.84 cents against Cuba. The vote was 37 to 35. The Committee on finance had recommended a rate of \$2 for the world and \$1.60 for Cuba.

"FLEXIBLE" TARIFF AMENDMENT

The flexible tariff amendment to the Fordney-McCumber bill, which proposed to grant authority to the President to increase or decrease the thousands of rates

in the pending measure until July 1, 1924, was adopted by the Senate on Aug. 11 by a vote of 36 to 20. As finally approved, the plan was a sharp modification of the proposal recently put forward by the Finance Committee. Several important changes were adopted in the face of the protests of the Finance Committee, while others were substituted by that committee in an effort to harmonize the many conflicting views of the Republican side, as to the wisdom of granting such broad authority to the President.

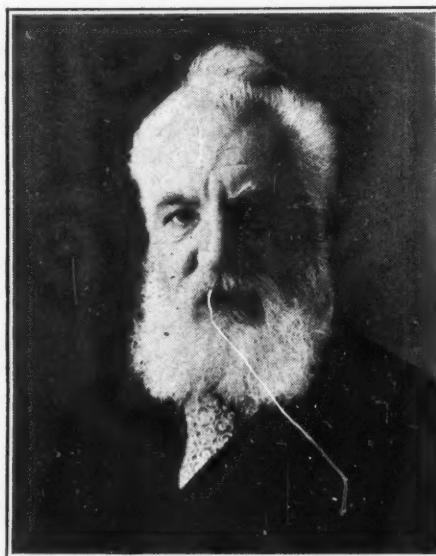
In the amendment as originally submitted to the Senate, it was provided that the President, in increasing or lowering rates, should base his action on the differences in "conditions of competition" here and abroad, and, when no other way was open to equalize those conditions, he was authorized to base his decision on the American instead of the foreign valuation of the article to which the rate of duty applied.

As adopted finally, the Lenroot amendment, which substituted "differences in cost of production" for "differences in conditions of competition," was accepted by the committee, while American valuation can now apply only to those rates which relate to certain dyestuffs and certain coal-tar chemicals and explosives. Another amendment which the committee was forced to accept limited the operation of the law to July 1, 1924. In the debate that preceded the adoption of the amendment, Senator Underwood pronounced the action of the Administration forces as a "retreat," and as an admission of the majority's incompetence to meet the problems facing this Congress, while Senator Reed called it a "traitorous abandonment" of the constitutionally delegated powers of the legislative branch of the Government.

DEATH OF ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

One of the most illustrious names in the field of science and invention for the last fifty years has been that of Alexander Graham Bell, whose death, at the age of 75, occurred on Aug. 1, at his home in Baddeck, Nova Scotia. He was the author of many notable inventions, but his name will be chiefly associated with the invention of the telephone.

Dr. Bell was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, March 3, 1847. He was educated at Edinburgh and London and acquired there an elementary knowledge of music, electricity and telegraphy. In 1870 he went to Canada, and the next year came to Boston, Mass., as Professor of Vocal Physiology in Boston University. His system of teach-



—© Harris & Ewing

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

Inventor of the telephone, who lived to hear the human voice carried across the continent

ing deaf-mutes won him instant recognition. His scientific enthusiasm had not abated, and he spent most of his spare time in studies that were to culminate in the telephone. For three years he worked with tuning forks, magnets and batteries, and in 1874 evolved the idea for what he called his "harmonic telegraphy." By 1876 he had invented the rudimentary telephone, which was exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. At first the public was skeptical, but it was not long before the full value of the invention dawned upon the world.

PORTO RICO

The Supreme Court of Porto Rico, by a vote of four out of five, on July 18 sustained Governor E. Mont Reily in his controversy with the Unionist Attorney General in the various courts of the island.

AFFAIRS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Anxiety over interallied differences on the Allies' debts to each other and on German reparations—Irish Government's victories over the insurgents—Canadian-American negotiations to renew the Rush-Bagot treaty, limiting frontier armaments

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

ENGLAND

THE prolonged delay in arriving at some definite international agreement on the questions of German reparations and interallied debts caused anxiety in both political and financial circles. Into the apparently endless wrangle on the latter subjects the Federation of British Industries cast itself by publishing a memorandum entirely opposing any writing off of debts owed Great Britain by France, Italy and Belgium.

On Aug. 1 widespread attention was drawn to a note on the interallied indebtedness delivered by the British Government to the Governments of France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Portugal and Greece. Great Britain took the position that she could not cancel the debts of the Allies to her since the American Government had called upon

his Majesty's Government to settle the war debt due to Washington. The note stated, however, that the British Government did not intend to try to collect more than it had to pay. Much speculation was indulged in with regard to the meaning of this move, until Mr. Lloyd George explained in the House of Commons on Aug. 3 that a settlement could not be made at the expense of British taxpayers alone.

Considerable public interest was displayed in the arrival of the French, Italian and Belgian representatives to attend the Reparation Conference in London on Aug. 8. (See Germany.)

In the House of Lords, on July 17, Premier Lloyd George defended the granting of honors recently under attack. Though ready to assent to a re-examination of the subject, he declared there never was a time when the honors list was subjected to so careful a scrutiny as now. He warned that an attempt to abolish a system that was centuries old might result in putting something infinitely worse in its place.

In response to a note from the Washington Government, asking for co-operation in the suppression of liquor-running into the United States through Bermuda and the Bahamas, it was understood the British Government felt unable to alter the three-mile limit rule, but would take into consideration other points.

The Government sustained a defeat at the polls on July 22, when T. J. Mardy Jones, Labor candidate, won the seat in Parliament at Pontypridd, Wales, by 16,630 votes, against 12,550 cast for T. A. Lewis, Coalition Liberal, seeking reelection on appointment as Government whip. This was the second seat captured by the Laborites in a few weeks.

As a result of an inquiry by the Committee of Imperial Defense, the Government announced on Aug. 3 that it had decided to adopt the scheme submitted by the Air Ministry, which provided a force of 500 machines for home defense at an increased cost of £2,000,000 per annum. Of this sum £900,000 would be provided for by economies in the estimates of the Air Ministry.

A new record, even in the proverbial swiftness of British justice, was made on July 18, when Reginald Dunn and Joseph O'Sullivan were found guilty, after trial at the Old Bailey, of the murder of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, who was shot down in front of his home on June 22. The prisoners admitted the killing, and the prosecution took barely half an hour in presenting the case. Both men were sentenced to death. An appeal was dismissed on Aug. 3 and execution of the sentence took place on Aug. 10.

[English Cartoon]



—Passing Show, London

THE PLAGUE OF MOSQUITOS

JOHN BULL—"Drat the little pests! They put me right off my game!"

The execution by hanging took place in Wands-worth Prison. In the crowd of Irish persons, mostly women, that prayed and sang hymns outside the prison gates, two of Dunn's brothers and two of his sisters were present, and one of O'Sullivan's brothers and three of his sisters. A little lame girl held an Irish Republican flag in front of the crowd, but the cordon of police guarding the prison approaches had no disorder to suppress. A layman of the name of O'Leary, wearing a cassock and surplice, held a prayer service, after which the crowd wrapped him in a green flag and sang the Sinn Fein dead march. The two condemned men smiled as they met at the scaffold, and met death unflinchingly.

Public concern was manifested on the discovery that twenty-eight of the thirty-two buttresses supporting the vast dome of St. Paul's Cathedral were cracked. As a consequence the 60,000-ton dome was moving. A committee was appointed to consider the best plan to preserve the Cathedral, really a national monument, from disintegration or collapse. Meantime many thought there was a great risk in keeping the Cathedral open, Sir Thomas Jackson having issued a warning that repairs should be begun at once.

IRELAND

Following the success of the National troops in subduing the irregulars in Dublin, systematic operations were undertaken to clear the provinces, especially the South and West, of insurrection. The guerrilla tactics promptly adopted by the irregulars was the form of warfare practiced against the British, threatening another period of fighting in which, as before, the civil population chiefly suffered. In fact, the devastation and consequent misery thus already caused in parts of the South moved the Catholic Bishop of Athenry, in condemning the activities of the irregulars, to announce that willful destruction of bridges would be treated as a reserved sin, and led Cardinal Logue to state that he was considering excommunicating the town of Dundalk.

On July 16 the Provisional Government directed a manifesto to Commander-in-Chief Collins and the men of the National Army reaffirming determination to suppress the revolt. It said:

"You have been entrusted with supreme command of the National Army, and, with General Mulcahy and General O'Duffy, have been constituted a general war council to direct the military operations now in progress."

Even while this proclamation was being issued, decisive action brought satisfactory results in the seizure of Dundalk, with more than 300 Republican prisoners; and the capitulation of Inchfort, in Donegal, after the place had been shelled and stormed by National troops. In the South the Government presently achieved two important victories at Waterford and Limerick. Waterford fell to the National troops on the night of July 20. The attacking party crossed the River Suir in boats under cover of darkness some distance below the city, and, landing on the east side, surprised the Republican garrison before any effective resistance could be

offered. At Limerick 1,000 Republicans put up a stubborn fight of several days before being driven out on July 22. Though rifle and bomb duels occurred frequently above ground, each side tunneled from house to house, so that entire streets were transformed into miniature fortresses. The defeat of the irregulars was eventually brought about by a clever National Army manoeuvre in isolating two Republican strongholds by an artillery assault, and threatening to cut off retreat. The Republicans thereupon set fire to all the barracks by exploding mines, took £62,000 from the banks, and fled in haste to Clonmel, destroying roads and bridges as they went. This action did not entirely free the city and vicinity of irregulars, who for some time kept up the conflict, thereby reducing the citizens to the desperate plight of being without coal or gas and in danger of starvation.

Meantime both sides claimed success in the "Solid South," viz., Cork, Kerry, Waterford, West Limerick and South Tipperary. Though the irregulars conceded the "skillful evacuation" of Waterford and Limerick, they asserted that the loss of those places left their defensive line along the Waterford, Kilkenny, Nenagh and Limerick border unaffected. On the other hand the Nationalists declared the irregulars' line was turned at both places, with their coastal extremity now resting on Dungarvan. Severe criticism was directed upon the irregulars' ruthless method of warfare, which was pronounced as worse than that of the Black and Tans, and of which an outstanding feature was the destruction of the Marconi wireless station at Clifden and subsequently the cutting of cables to the United States.

Progress was made by the National forces in the capture of Burren on July 28 and Tipperary on July 30, and in a partial investment of Kilmallock after hard fighting. At this time the irregulars occupied the Galtz and Knockmeal-down Mountains in scattered bands, but so far had shown little inclination to take the offensive. On Aug. 1 they were in retreat upon Cahir and Clonmel before a general attack of the National forces. Cashel, with its famous rock, fell to the Nationalists on Aug. 3 as a result of the previous capture of Tipperary. On the same date National forces executed a dramatic flanking movement by a surprise landing at Fenit, in Dingle Bay, thus becoming a direct menace to the irregular concentration around Cork. The occupation of Carrick-on-Suir by the Nationalists on the 3d, and the capture by them of the "redoubtable fortress" of Kilmallock on the next day brought their main objective of Cork within measurable distance of a decisive stroke. After a twelve-hour battle on the 7th the irregulars were driven out of Newcastle West with considerable loss.

This gradual weakening of the irregulars' defensive position prompted peace suggestions from an organization known as the People's Rights Association. To these Michael Collins, the Commander-in-Chief, replied: "The issue is now very clear. The choice is now between a continuance of war and the irregulars' sending their arms to the people's Government to be held in trust for the people."

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
IRISH STEW

[English Cartoon]



—Public Opinion, London

THE REJECTED SUITOR

MISS ERIN (to De Valera)—“Arrah, be off wid yez—it’s Michael Collins I’m after marrying”

As the result of the seizure of the cable landing at Waterville, about seventy miles west of Cork, by the irregulars on Aug. 6, and the cutting of American and other lines, all transmission ceased at that point. The Atlantic Ocean cable service was further restricted by the subsequent seizure of the landing station at Valentia, within a few miles of Waterville. Great stress of business fell upon the few direct cables to England, while the European continent remained open. This delayed all messages from fifteen to thirty hours. In this emergency, effective use was made of the radio circuits.

What was termed the most daring coup of the campaign was performed by the Government in landing 1,500 men with artillery from Dullin at Passage West, Cork's port for large ships, on Aug. 9. National troops were also landed at Youghal and Union Hall. Some resistance was offered by the irregulars, but they eventually gave way, permitting the capture of West Union Hall by National troops. At the same time Queenstown was reported as having been set afire and vacated by the irregulars, who were retreating toward Cork after blowing up a railroad bridge at Foaty. These movements were calculated to compel the irregulars to a decisive battle or a scattering to the hills.

In Dublin what was described as a sort of evening and dawn strife became the normal condition of the already overwrought citizen's existence. No sooner had darkness fallen than National troops at different points in the city were fired upon by snipers, who crept to roofs where they were extremely difficult to detect. These mosquito-like tactics continued until morning, when, before retiring, the snipers usually became very persistent. The increase in the number of daily ambushes was likened to the pre-truce situation.

A report on July 11 of the casualties from the recent fighting gave nineteen soldiers and sixty-five civilians killed, and eleven soldiers and 281 civilians wounded.

As indicating the severity of the press censorship enforced in the Irish capital, The Voice of Labor appeared on July 15 with thirteen blank columns. An editorial note explained the paper's inability to express labor's full views on anything touching the military or political situation. * * * The meeting of the recently elected Provisional Parliament was again postponed until Aug. 12, by which date it was hoped that organized resistance would have broken down to the extent of making delay unnecessary. This result not being attained by Aug. 8, a further postponement was announced.

Harry Boland, formerly Dail Eireann representative in the United States, was mortally wounded in resisting arrest at the Grand Hotel in Skerries on July 21, and died on the day following. * * * Great crowds witnessed the military funeral on Aug 8 of nine National Army soldiers who had been killed in the fighting in County Kerry. * * * The unexpected death of Arthur Griffith, President of the Dail Eireann, on Aug. 12 at Dublin, was a serious blow to the Free State Government.

CANADA

A notable visit was paid by the Canadian Premier, Lyon Mackenzie King, and George Perry Graham, Canadian Minister of National Defense, to Secretary of State Hughes in Washington on July 12. The proposal was made that the ideals of the Bush-Bagot agreement, limiting the naval forces of Great Britain and the United States on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain, be perpetuated in a new treaty between the United States and Canada. It was understood the Canadian visitors found Secretary Hughes highly sympathetic toward their object, which was, in effect, to make permanent that peace which had existed for over a century along the 3,000-mile boundary of the two countries, unmarked by a single fort, and guarded not by soldiers, but only by the good will of the two people and their Governments. On the return of Premier King to Ottawa, the Canadian Minister said that besides the Rush-Bagot agreement other problems were discussed. Such progress was made that they were now in a position to carry on further negotiations by correspondence. The additional questions included the fisheries on both coasts, the great waterways, Canadian representation at the United States capital, and reciprocal treatment in income taxation. The Premier went on to say that the Canadian Government had had to deal with a number of applications for the passage of armed vessels through the Canadian canals. These were used for the training of naval militia on the lakes. Further, United States shipbuilders on the Great Lakes wished to be allowed to compete for the construction of war vessels for the United States Navy.

According to revised figures of the Canadian Decennial Census, made public on July 2, the total for the Dominion was 8,788,483 inhabitants, being an increase of 1,581,840 since 1911. All the provinces showed gains except Prince Edward Island and the Yukon Territory. The latter was affected by the falling off in placer mining.

Semi-official figures gathered in Montreal on the liquor traffic went to prove that the people of the Province of Quebec were drinking less under a system of open sale than those in the dry provinces. Thus, while the Province of Quebec sold \$15,000,000 worth of liquor in 1921, the Province of Manitoba, with one-fifth the population, sold \$12,262,912, and British Columbia \$14,000,000 worth.

During the first four months of the operation of the Agricultural Development Board of the Province of Ontario, \$571,570 in long term loans and \$25,000 in short term loans were lent to farmers. One of the objects of the scheme, to keep farmers' sons on the land, was achieving success, through the fathers getting a loan from the Government to buy an adjacent farm for his sons, mortgaging both farms to secure the loan.

In view of threatened labor trouble, the Canadian Government, on Aug. 2, appointed a Central Advisory Fuel Committee to have general supervision over the supply of coal and other fuel throughout Canada. The committee consisted of W. C. Kennedy, Minister of Railways, and C. A. McGrath and Fred McCourt of Montreal.

A new Canadian national anthem, written by the Hon. Justice Archer Martin of the Court of Appeal, was formally endorsed by Native Sons of Canada at a recent meeting in Victoria, B. C. The new song is named "Canada, Our Canada," and reads as follows:

Hail! stately country of our sires!
To thee we light the altar fires,
Ne'er to be quenched till life expires,
Canada, our Canada!

Each true son's heart glows with the flame
Of patriot pride to see thy name
Writ large upon the roll of fame,
Canada, our Canada!

Chorus:
Canada, we hail thee!
Whosoever may assail thee,
Never shall we fail thee,
Canada, our Canada!

From East to St. Elias' towers
The cry comes through the awakened hours—
Arise, assert thy manhood's powers,
Canada, our Canada!

The time has come to take thy place
Among the nations, face to face,
Equal at last with every race,
Canada, our Canada!

INDIA

Though the hot season doubtless operated to reduce revolutionary activity, a message came from Mahatma Gandhi showing that his convictions remained uninfluenced by prison walls. The Hindu Nationalist leader declared his loss of liberty could not materially affect the progress of India, and urged his friends to carry on the work in which he had so large a part. He had no complaint to make regarding his treatment in prison. In reaffirming his loyalty to the principle of Swadeshi, he defined it as "that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings, to the exclusion of the more remote." Progress with Mr. Gandhi, however, bears a different interpretation from the one we are accustomed to, as will be seen by a letter from him in which he characteristically denounces modern civilization, in its purely material aspects, as an evil from which both East and West are suffering. On this subject Mr. Gandhi wrote:

"If British rule were replaced tomorrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England; but then India would become only a second or fifth nation of Europe or America. East and West can only really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when the East has also adopted modern civilization, but that meeting would be an armed truce.

"Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill. Hospitals are the instruments that the devil has been using

for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold in the kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery, degradation and real slavery. If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption and less sexual vice among us.

"India should wear no machine-made clothing, whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills.

"India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learned during the past fifty years. The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

"There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people; the rude plow of perhaps 5,000 years ago is the plow of the husbandman today. Therein lies salvation. People live long under such conditions, in comparative peace, much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity."

Details of a Constitution to be granted to Burma were expounded by Earl Winterton in the House of Commons on July 1. After announcing provision for a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly, the speaker pointed out that, whereas in India no woman had a vote, in Burma under the proposed Constitution there would be no sex disqualification. The reason given was that Burmese women were far more advanced than their Indian sisters. All the heads of Burmese households would be virtually enfranchised. The total electorate, urban and rural, would be 3,000,000, of whom 200,000 would be women. The principle that there would be no taxation without representation, the one for which the American Colonies fought and won their independence, would be conceded to Burma without a struggle.

AUSTRALIA

The Australian Federal Government on July 21 refused to agree to the appointment of German Consuls in Australia, Premier Hughes remarking that the Australian Ministry does not feel called upon to "grease the wheels for German trade." Trading with Germany was resumed on Aug. 1, but the Australian Tariff Board proposed a duty of 75 per cent. to prevent the dumping of German goods.

Australia has been paying a maternity allowance of \$5 for each child born and something like \$6,000,000 has been paid out by the Commonwealth for the "baby bonus" since its inception. The Federal Treasurer now proposes to abolish this gratuity as a matter of economy. In addition to this, war pensions cost the Commonwealth about £7,500,000 annually, and invalid and old age pensions about £5,000,000.

An agreement has been concluded between the Australian and British Governments amounting to a copartnership for assisting emigration from Great Britain to sparsely settled districts. About 3,000 emigrants are leaving England monthly for Australia, and it is intended to increase the number to 100,000 a year. In this connection Western

Australia proposes to build a railway from Melkathara, terminus of the present line, through the northwestern section of the State to Hall's Creek, a distance of 1,300 miles, and thence eastward 400 miles to Powell's Creek, where it will join the proposed north and south transcontinental line, opening up nearly 200,000,000 acres of new country, including some of the best pastoral and agricultural land in Australia.

The Australian Senate on July 27 ratified the treaties negotiated at the Washington Armament Conference.

Observations have been made in Tahiti by Dr. Robert Trumpler of the Lick Observatory in preparation for work in Northern Australia to test the Einstein relativity theory. Photographs have been made on a large scale of that part of the heavens where the sun will be totally eclipsed on Sept. 21, and on the day of the eclipse, when the stars will be visible, owing to the cutting off of the sun's light, similar photographs will be taken on the same scale.

EGYPT

The British Government, through General Allenby, the High Commissioner in Cairo, on July 23 addressed a strong note to the Egyptian Government, voicing alarm at the frequent recurrence of outrages against British officials, officers and soldiers, and its regret at the failure of the Egyptian Government to punish the criminals. The note gave warning that if the outrages continued the British Government would be compelled to reconsider its attitude toward Egypt. This means that Egypt may lose her independence after all.

On Aug. 10, a military court at Cairo concluded its trial of the seven signers of a recent manifesto of alleged seditious character, and forwarded its findings, without announcement, to Field Marshal Allenby for confirmation. This implies that the prisoners were found guilty on one or both counts. The prosecution endeavored to suggest that the manifesto was calculated to favor continuance of the series of political crimes. In summing up, however, the Judge Advocate warned the court that, owing to absence of counsel for the defense, it was necessary for them to consider very carefully whether the prosecution had proved the alleged seditious character of the manifesto. Hamed el Basel Pasha, a Bedouin chieftain in picturesque flowing robes, read a statement in behalf of his fellow-prisoners, declaring their consistent aversion to violence and pacific trust in the justice of their cause. He told the court that they would declare themselves incompetent to judge the case if they took seriously the British declaration of Egyptian sovereignty. The prisoners were cheered as they left the dock at the conclusion of the trial.

Lawlessness reigns supreme in the Valley of the Nile. Many districts are entirely in the hands of brigands and outlaws. Many assassinations have occurred. Colonel Piggott of the British Army pay corps was shot and killed walking to his office in Cairo on July 15.

The Egyptian Government on July 18 issued a

decree depriving Abbas Hilmi, the ex-Khedive, of every right in Egypt. He is forbidden to enter Egyptian territory, and his property is confiscated. Three members of the Zaglulist party were arrested in Cairo on July 25. On July 30 Mme. Zaglul's house was searched, and a European woman was engaged to search Zaglul's wife personally, out of respect for the Moslem custom of seclusion of women. Several documents were found in the house which it was thought might throw light on Egyptian plots. Seven Egyptian political leaders were placed on trial before a British military tribunal on Aug. 9, charged with spreading disaffection against the Egyptian Government; objections to the court on the ground that Egypt is a sovereign State were disallowed. An adjournment was refused.

The wireless receiving and transmitting station on the edge of the eastern desert, about fifteen miles from Cairo, which was begun in 1914 and taken over by the British Admiralty during the World War, has been opened for public use at rates 25 per cent. lower than those of the Eastern Telegraph Company's submarine and land lines.

The Governor General of the Sudan has authorized a loan not exceeding £7,000,000 to facilitate the completion of irrigation works. It must first be approved by the British Treasurer and Foreign Secretary.

Egyptians are much concerned at the prospect of the present temporary import duty on cotton becoming permanent, which would eventually mean the elimination of Egyptian cotton from American industry and the loss of Egypt's trade with America, which last year amounted to \$50,000,000. A surprising item of this trade is that the United States in 1920 supplied the largest amount of coal imported into Egypt and in 1921 the American importation nearly equaled that from Great Britain.

SOUTH AFRICA

South African census compilers have published the preliminary results for 1921, showing the total population to be 6,926,992, composed of 1,522,442 whites and 5,404,550 colored persons. In 1911 the colored population was 4,697,152 and the whites 1,276,242. The whites increased more rapidly than the negroes in the proportion of 19 per cent. to 15 in the ten years, largely, however, through immigration.

The South African Assembly, on July 19, ratified the treaties formulated by the Washington Armament Conference. The Assembly also agreed to the appointment of a non-Parliamentary committee to make recommendations for effecting reductions of public expenditure.

Discovery of a new gold belt in the Transvaal, stretching from the border of Bechuanaland to Nylstroom, was reported on Aug. 3, and a rush of miners to the fields followed. Portugal is considering a bill to forbid further emigration of natives from Mozambique to the Transvaal mines, among whom Admiral Reoterego, on Aug. 2, charged that the mortality reaches 30 per cent. The diamond mines in South Africa are reopening and economic conditions are improving.

The South African Government has vetoed two anti-Asiatic ordinances passed by the National Provincial Council, debarring Asiatics from the municipal vote, and providing for local boards in rural areas for granting trading licenses.

KENYA COLONY

There is much apathy in Kenya Colony over the political situation, colonists feeling that they are unjustly treated in the matter of legislation, having only eleven elective votes out of thirty-three in the legislative council and being further handicapped by an order sent privately to the members, saying: "In future it is to be understood that official members are on all occasions actively to support any measures proposed by Government by recording their votes in favor thereof. Abstention from voting cannot, of course, be regarded as active support."

RHODESIA

Rhodesia is considering amalgamation with the Union of South Africa, provided General Smuts can come to an agreement with the British South Africa Company with regard to the acquisition of the Crownlands and the expropriation of the company's controlling interest in the Rhodesian railways. The feature of General Smuts's plan is a development fund to foster the country's industries. Pro-Unionists and business men are favorably impressed, but there is prospect of a stiff fight on the constitutional issue. In Southern Rhodesia the white population has increased 42.4 per cent., from 23,606 in 1911 to 33,620 in 1921.

The trans-Zambezi Railway was opened on July 1 for general traffic. It runs through Portuguese territory from Beira, the port of Rhodesia, to Murassa on the south bank of the Zambezi, where it connects with a railway from Chindio on the north bank of the river to Blantyre, the commercial capital of Nyassaland. The difficulty of the voyage down the Zambezi from Chindio to Chinde is thus avoided and Nyassaland gains for the first time a true ocean outlet, reducing the time from the coast of from five to fifteen days via Chinde to twenty-six hours.

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

MAYBE HE WON'T JUMP AFTER ALL

France takes independent action on Berlin's failure to pay—Germans expelled from Alsace—Beginning of Premiers' conference at London—Commission to settle American claims

GERMANY'S NEW REPARATION CRISIS

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

THE French and British Premiers met in London on Aug. 7 for a conference on the allied policy to be adopted in view of Germany's insistence that she could no longer meet her reparations and other financial obligations. The situation which they were called upon to face was incontestably serious. In the first week of July the floating debt had been increased by more than 3,500,000,000 marks, and the exchange value of the mark was dropping lower and lower. The next monthly reparation payment of 32,000,000 marks, due July 15, and already representing a reduction of 18,000,000 marks from the 50,000,000 due under the fixed schedule laid down some months ago by the Reparation Commission, loomed so large to the German Government that a special envoy was sent to Paris to ask a two-year moratorium for this and the following payments. The Reparation Commission took the request under advisement, but insisted that the July instalment would have to be met, and Germany paid it.

While awaiting the report of the Allied Committee on Guarantees, which left Berlin on July

16, the French Government had no ground to feel encouraged over the prospect, especially in view of Germany's further notification that it would be impossible for her to keep up coal deliveries of 1,900,000 tons monthly, and her request to be allowed to reduce the amount by one-third. This pessimism was further increased by a new German demand which came on July 15 that Germany be relieved for three years from making payments in cash for the liquidation of claims of French nationals against German nationals, represented in Clearing House balances. The balance due France on this account amounts to some \$100,000,000, and Germany had agreed in the London conference of June 10, 1921, to pay \$10,000,000 monthly to liquidate. What she now asked was that this monthly payment be reduced to \$2,500,000. This roused a new French storm, and the determination of France to apply the "sanctions" or penalties, unless Germany changed her attitude, became correspondingly stiffened. Plans were drawn up by Premier Poincaré to obtain satisfaction through other channels.

First of all, however, the Reparation Commission on July 22 issued a long memorandum on the organization of a close system of supervision of German finances, under which what would be virtually an overseer would be placed in nearly every Ministry Bureau, to watch the income and

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

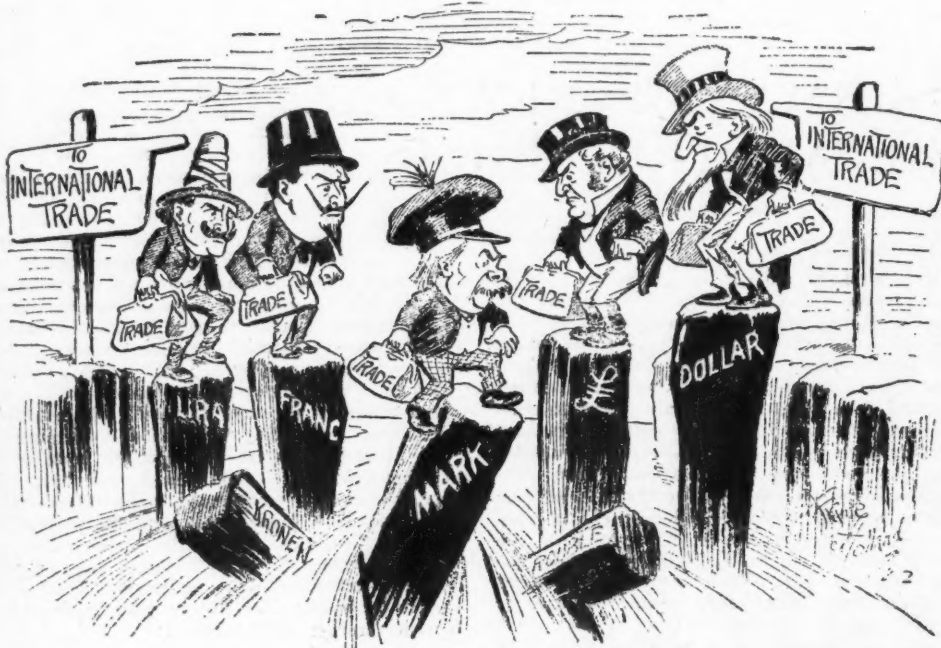
THE REAL SCRAPS OF PAPER

outgo, to inspect figures on all revenue and expenses, and to guard against exportation of German capital. The Guarantee Committee, furthermore, on July 28 made the following recommendations, based on months of intensive study in Germany of the whole financial situation: first, an international loan to Germany, to be shared in equally by Germany and the Reparation Commission; second, to cut some 30,000,000,000 marks, or, roughly, \$60,000,000, unnecessary expense from the German budget; third, a series of new taxes and increased taxes; fourth, measures to prevent the flight of German capital.

The next step taken by France was to refuse pointblank Germany's request for a reduction in the Clearing House balance payments. In the note dispatched to Berlin on July 26, Premier Poincaré told the German Government that it was trifling with German obligations, and served notice that, unless Berlin agreed by Aug. 5 to pay her balances, immediate steps would be taken to enforce payment. This direct reply without reference to the other allied nations was considered justified by the fact that Germany had transmitted her request for a moratorium directly to France. A serious view, however, was taken in London of this threat of independent action on the eve of the meeting of the French and British Premiers in London.

The situation became more complex, from one

[English Cartoon]



—Reynolds's Newspaper, London

TROUBLE AT THE CROSSING STONES

It may be bad for him, but it doesn't make it better for anybody else

[English Cartoon]



—Western Mail, Cardiff

GETTING BLOOD OUT OF A STONE

JOHN BULL—"Well! Marianne, if we ever get any more out of him I reckon we'll deserve it."

viewpoint, and clearer from another, with the receipt by the French Government early in August of a note from Lord Balfour, acting for the British Government, and serving notice on France that in view of insistence by the United States on payment of her war loans to Great Britain, the latter country must similarly hold France to payment of loans advanced her by England at least to that extent. This note was in answer to the French proposal of mutual annulment of all war debts, including those owed by all the Allies to America, on the basis of which France would have been willing to reduce the total of her reparation claims on Germany. M. Poincaré's previous proposal was to remit all Class C German reparation bonds, reducing the reparations total of 132,000,000,000 gold marks by 50,000,000,000 gold marks, on the explicit understanding that France's debts to Great Britain and the United States be canceled. The British note refusing cancellation was received with considerable resentment in France, but was hailed by the Nationalist organs as giving France a free hand in her determination to make Germany pay to the full.

Premier Poincaré's next move was to draw up a plan of penalties backed by the French Parliament, which he could present to the British Government at the London meeting with full assurance that he was backed by the nation. The main features of this scheme, which would be put into effect upon the definite refusal of the

[American Cartoon]



—© Kansas City Times

AND NOT A SOFT SPOT IN SIGHT

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

THE MENACE OF MONARCHY IN GERMANY

[It is curious that the weekly paper containing this prophetic Dutch cartoon is dated for the very day of Rathenau's murder]

German Government to fulfill its Clearing House and other agreements, provided for the separation of the Rhineland from Germany, with its own Parliament and Government, and a separate financial régime, supervised by the Allies, and also involved the expulsion of all the Prussian functionaries from the Rhineland, and their replacement by native officials. This plan was to be supplemented by the seizure of properties, plants and offices of certain industrial firms in the Rhineland, and also of goods and properties of German citizens in Alsace-Lorraine. All sequestered German property in France was also to be seized. On learning of this scheme, the Germans in France and Alsace-Lorraine at once began drawing out their money from the banks, to avoid the application of such a measure to themselves.

The German Government on Aug. 4 sent a note to Paris declaring that it had no intention of defaulting on the Clearing House payments, but that it merely asked for a reduction of the monthly amounts. The note protested against the application of punitive measures, which, it pointed out, were not justified

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
FACE TO FACE

[American Cartoon]



—Portland Oregonian

**HOW MUCH LONGER WILL UNCLE SAM
STAND FOR THIS?**

under either the Versailles Treaty or the London agreement before Aug. 15, when the next reparation instalment was due. The French attitude that these payments were entirely distinct from the general reparations question, and must not be linked with it, as Germany was striving to do, remained unshaken.

Germany's reply to the French ultimatum demanding the payment of \$10,000,000 was received by Aug. 5, within the time limit. Germany declared anew that the compensation payments formed a part of the general reparations, again denied France's right to adopt punitive measures before Aug. 15, and, after pointing out the disastrous fall of the German mark, urged France to hold decision over until after the London meeting of the Premiers. M. Poincaré wasted no time in showing that his plans of coercion brooked no delay. Three hours later the French Foreign Office issued a decree declaring that all payment or recognition of German nationals' credits in France was suspended, that all payments to Germans of awards of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal were suspended; that all proceeds of the liquidation of German property in France were sequestered until further notice, and that

[Polish Cartoon]



—Mucha, Warsaw

IN GERMAN UPPER SILESIA
SILESIAN—"Mother Poland, help me!"

[German Cartoon]



Kladderadatsch, Berlin

RAGING RAYMOND

The Premier of France demands the destruction of German railways in the Rhineland. It has no object—but it amuses him.

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

NEARING HIS FINISH

liquidation in Alsace-Lorraine was suspended. The Fifth Article, saying, "Conservatory measures will be immediately taken in Alsace-Lorraine," obviously referred to the French plan to sequester German property in the redeemed provinces, and to expel a certain number of prominent Germans from this territory. By Aug. 11 the expulsion of 500 Alsatian Germans was already under way.

These measures caused wild excitement in Germany, but the defiant attitude of the German Government remained unchanged. On the eve of Premier Poincaré's departure for London, the Reparation Commission announced its approval in principle of the French Government's demand for payment in kind by Germany through German labor and materials for the great Rhone improvement project recently drafted by the French leaders. The commission also approved the same scheme for improvement of the Truyere and Dordogne rivers, the digging of a tunnel on the proposed railway line between St. Maurice and Wesserling, and the construction of a north-east canal connecting the Sarre, Moselle, Meuse and Scheldt rivers. The French Government had already begun negotiations with the French labor unions to secure labor agreements regarding the importation of German labor for these purposes, and pledged full assurance that the German materials imported would not enter into competition with the products of French industry. The total cost of all these ventures to be completed with German aid was estimated at approximately 2,000,000,000 gold marks.

Such, in large outlines, was the situation existing between Germany and France when Premier Poincaré crossed the channel for a new and momentous interview with Lloyd George, and representatives of Belgium and Italy. M. Poincaré arrived in London on Aug. 6, and was met at Victoria Station by Lloyd George amid the enthusiastic plaudits of a large throng of French residents. The first session took place the next day, and thus was inaugurated another in the long series of conferences between the European Allies which have followed upon the Treaty of Versailles. Despite the tense situation, there were grounds for hope of an eventual agreement. The conference was still proceeding when these pages went to press.

The first step toward settling the claims of the United States against Germany was taken on Aug. 10 with the signing in Berlin by representatives of the two nations of an agreement for the determination of the American claims. The agreement provided for a mixed claims commission to be composed of one German and one American delegate, with an umpire to settle matters in dispute. On the day the agreement was

signed, President Harding named William R. Day, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, to act as the commissioner for America. The commission is to pass upon (1) claims of American citizens arising since the outbreak of the war for damage of property or interests within German territory; (2) other claims for loss or damage arising from the war, and (3) debts owed American citizens by the German Government or by German nationals.

Though Germany's currency was further inflated by the issue of more billions of paper marks, and though the mark continued to fall till it reached nearly 900 to the dollar by the 10th of August, accompanied by the raging of speculation and a violent rise of prices, comparatively few men remained unemployed, and only some 20,000 were receiving State aid. President Ebert was working energetically to prevent a break in his Cabinet, and to hold his Government firm after the excitement caused by the assassination of Dr. Rathenau. The murderers of the German Foreign Minister, Hermann Fischer and Edwin Kern, after being encircled and hunted down for more than ten days in Central Germany, were finally located in an unoccupied castle, where they committed suicide under dramatic circumstances just as the police were about to arrest them. The Defense of the Republic bill, which was a direct outcome of the assassination, passed its third reading in the Reichstag on July 18. (At the same session the bill for a compulsory loan of 70,000,000,000 marks also passed its third reading.)

A clash between the Central Government and Bavaria over the Defense bill, which Munich refused to apply, insisting on her right to apply her own legislation, began a few days later. It was stated on Aug. 6 that Munich was sending a special mission to Berlin to effect an understanding.

Despite repeated protests by representatives of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin to the Council of the League of Nations against the new semi-legislative body to be known as the Advisory Council, the main body of the inhabitants turned out at the elections on June 25 and elected the representatives, with the result that the Centrists won 16 seats, the Socialists bulking second. This new Council is to be called into session every three months by the Chairman of the Governing Commission, and its decisions will be accepted by that commission unless they are obviously contrary to the régime created by the Treaty of Versailles. Under that treaty, the League of Nations is to administer the territory until 1935, when a plebiscite will decide whether it shall belong to Germany or France. A Study Committee is to co-operate with the Council.

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

TRIAL OF THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTIONARIES

RUSSIAN JUSTICE—"The sword for the accused—and the dagger for their defenders"

*Lenin's hand again
felt at the helm of
the Russian Ship of
State — America's
victory over the fam-
ine, and the harvest
prospects — Mos-
cow's relentless war
on counter-revolu-
tion*

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

THE internal working of the Soviet Government since the enforced retirement of Nikolai Lenin, according to all evidences, has been smooth and devoid of conflict. The directorate scheme referred to in the August CURRENT HISTORY (page 900) did not work out in practice, though the principal parts in the Council of People's Commissaries, of which Lenin is President, were played by Trotzky and Djerzinsky. The Government's foreign policy was being directed by three Soviet leaders—Litvinov, Karakhan and Joffe. Lenin, who had entered a sanatorium near Moscow at the end of June, was again taking a hand in matters of government—through conferences with political friends—by the middle of July.

The results of The Hague conference, it was admitted, were nil. The famine situation, according to statements made by Colonel William N. Haskell, Acting Director of the American relief work in Russia, on his departure for America on July 11, was greatly relieved. Over 9,000,000 people were then receiving American food who would otherwise have died of starvation, a total five times as many as the American army in France was feeding at the close of the World War. The Relief Administration had distributed 120,000 tons of food for children, over 200,000 tons of food for adults, the whole seed grain appropriation, and \$7,000,000 worth of medical stores. C. J. O. Quinn replaced Colonel Haskell as the acting head of the organization. Colonel Haskell, Edgar

Rickard, Director General of the American Relief Committee, and Walter Lyman Brown, the London Director, all arrived in New York from England on July 29. Colonel Haskell said that if the work for Russia were continued, the quantity of food needed would be much less than before. It was estimated, he pointed out, that from five to ten million more bushels of wheat would be harvested in Russia this season than at the last reaping.

Mr. Rickard and Mr. Brown issued a statement which said in part: "The Russian people have been snatched from the brink of a catastrophe unequalled in the history of the world's disasters. For the last sixty days no one has starved in Russia. Deaths from starvation, which six months ago threatened to extend into the millions, have been limited to a number which certainly will not exceed half a million. Today almost 10,000,000 destitute people subsist on American foodstuffs. Literally millions of people have been and will be inoculated against the five major diseases. Hundreds of thousands of food packages have been delivered to individuals under the food remittance plan. The intelligentsia of all categories have been fed. The Russian railroads have been prevailed upon to do infinitely more than was deemed possible in the transport of food supplies. Ports long closed to commerce have been reopened. One American (Blandy) has already sacrificed his life in the doing. A score have been at the point of death from typhus. The famine is dead, and the Russian people live."

A meeting of the principal Directors of the Russian relief work was held in New York on July 30, Herbert Hoover presiding. It was decided to continue the work for several months, especially the medical aid which threatened the rest of the world with contagion. "Russia, from the world's standpoint," said Mr. Hoover, "is a cesspool of contagious infection." An alarming spread of cholera and typhus in South Russia was reported on July 19. In Odessa 3,000 cases of cholera were developed in July.

According to Walter Duranty, The New York Times correspondent, the Soviet was counting on receiving 200,000,000 gold rubles, or fully \$100,000,000, from the food tax, collectable in grain. The decree fixing classifications and quota, a formidable document, requires the fifteen famine districts to pay only one-fifth of the tax. The peasants were graded into some 396 distinct classes, paying up to 20 per cent. of their product or nothing at all, according to their circumstances. The crop prospects explained the feverish activity displayed in Moscow in opening stores. During the past three months, huge arcades bordering the Red Square in Moscow, and containing more than 1,000 shops, have been restored for private business. Many other arcades were being reopened throughout the city.

Foreign trade, however, according to the Russian journal, Economic Life, was dwindling as a result of the ever-decreasing gold reserve and the lowering of Russian industrial production. Plans were being laid in Petrograd at the end of July to restore the port, which before the war was one of Russia's greatest economic assets, and which is now in a sad state of decay. Since navigation reopened in May, some 206 ships were reported to have landed cargoes; of these only eight were able to obtain return cargoes. The southern port of Odessa is in a melancholy condition. The Moscow authorities on July 26 extended to Afghanistan and Persia the privilege already accorded the Angora Turkish Government of importing and exporting to the Nizhni-Novgorod Fair, which opened auspiciously for the first time in five years on Aug. 1, without permits from the Soviet foreign trade monopoly. Christian Rakovsky, President of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic, during the continuance of the Genoa conference, entered into negotiations with the National Ukrainian Committee in Paris with a view to co-operation for the commercial, financial and industrial restoration of the Ukraine.

The trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow dragged on through July and finally ended, as expected, in the conviction of a number of these political prisoners for counter-revolutionary conspiracy. Bukharin declared on July 16 that the whole Red Army and the masses supported the Government in its prosecution, and that it was all the Government could do to keep the accused, including several women, from being lynched. One of the most dramatic moments in the trial occurred on July 20, when the principal defendants declared that Dora Kaplan had laid her plans to assassinate Lenin on her own initiative. They admitted, however, that they knew of these plans, and those who had turned State's evidence calmly discussed the project in detail.

The purpose of the Government, as officially explained, was to show that the Social Revolutionists on trial had been guilty of treason to the country in allying themselves with Kolchak and other anti-Bolshevist leaders and with France and other nations of the Entente, to prove that the ringleaders had betrayed their own subordinates, and to put on record for future historians the inside facts about the revolutionary struggle of 1917 to 1919. One witness gave a detailed account of an effort to wreck Trotsky's train in 1918, on its way to the Czechoslovak front in the Province of Samara. The Government was unable to prove that the accused actively aided these attempts, though it did establish their knowledge of them.

M. Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor, ended a fiery address of accusation lasting eighteen hours on July 30. When at the climax of his speech he demanded the supreme penalty, he was interrupted by an outburst of applause. Hendleman, one of the principal defenders, placed the entire responsibility of the murders and murder attempts on Semenov-Vasiliev, the agent of the Soviet Secret Police, who had previously been a member of the Social Revolutionary Party. Miss Ratner, one of the women defendants, at the session of Aug. 1, despite two years of imprisonment, to which her pale face bore witness, showed unexpected energy in denying the Soviet charges for herself and the rest of the thirty for whom the death penalty had been demanded.

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

THE GHOST STILL WALKS

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

DOESN'T SOME ONE KNOW HOW TO GET A BEAR INTO THE CAGE?

"You asserted," she said, "that all of us ought to be grateful to the State for giving us a fair trial. Is it a fair trial? And if you consider it fair, and the sentence of death for thirty of us is really carried out, I predict that you will not dare to give us a public execution." Her words were received in silence, and it was generally admitted that the death decree would soon follow for a number of those accused.

A hint of clemency was held out on Aug. 4, when the defendants were asked to give the court in their final pleas an intimation of what their attitude toward the Soviet Government would be if they were set at liberty. The majority of the first group ignored this query, declaring that they would uphold the principles of their party to the end. Ivanovna, one of the women defendants, declared she would never abandon her enmity for the Soviet Government, but would die forgiving the informers for their treachery, though their evidence had sealed her doom.

The trial was officially ended on Aug. 6, and the verdict of the five presiding Judges was announced on Aug. 7. Twelve of the Social Revolutionary leaders were condemned to death. Of the remainder, three were acquitted, and the others sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two to ten years. Three of the accused who turned State's evidence were condemned to death with a recommendation of mercy. The other informers were pardoned. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government made a dramatic move the following day in an-

nouncing that the executions of those who had received the death sentence would be stayed "if the Social Revolutionary Party actually ceases all underground and conspirative acts of terrorism, espionage and insurrection against the Soviet Government. If, however, the Social Revolutionary Party continues the same methods of struggle against the Soviet régime, this inevitably will bring about the executions." So ended one of the most spectacular political trials since the days of the French Revolution. M. Tchitcherin, the Foreign Minister, in a public interview given on Aug. 9, declared that the Soviet Government would continue its repressions of counter-revolution until all opposition had been crushed.

Further evidence of this determination was given by the sentencing to death of four employees of the Nobel Oil Company on the charge of sending news abroad detrimental to the Government; by a similar sentence passed on ten members of the Estonian Reparation Mission on charges of espionage; and, above all, in the confirming of the death decree in the case of the Russian priests and others convicted of resistance to the measure for expropriating

church treasure. The condemned were: The Metropolitan of Petrograd, Benjamin; Archbishop Shane, Layman Kosherov and Professor Novitsky. "Those of the higher clergy who have carried on crimes against the State under the cover of the Church, and encouraged their followers to disregard the Soviet decrees, must pay the penalty," reported the Central Executive Committee. The death sentences against seven other priests were commuted to long terms of imprisonment. A stirring appeal was made on behalf of the Metropolitan and the Archbishop by twenty-seven Russian organizations in Paris, which sent a memorial to Lloyd George to intervene to prevent the death sentence from being carried out in the case of these clerics, whose only crime, they declared, had consisted in a peaceful protest against robbing the churches of objects considered sacred. Pending the trial of Patriarch Tikhon, Archbishop Agathangel on Aug. 5 proclaimed himself the acting head of the Orthodox "Free Church" of Russia.

Another step forward in the Bolshevik campaign to overthrow the Church and religion generally in Russia was announced by a Moscow dispatch of Aug. 14, which stated that punishment by forced labor up to one year for those giving religious instruction to minors in all educational institutions, either national or private, would be administered by the Russian Soviet Government as a part of the new criminal code. The prohibition of baptism was also contemplated. The Soviet theory is that religion can be eradicated from the Russian character in a generation.

BELGIUM BUSY IN EUROPE AND AFRICA

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922.]

THE Belgian Chamber of Deputies, after voting important bills imposing additional taxes and regulating rents, has adjourned until Oct. 17. It is not likely, however, that the members of the Cabinet will get much vacation, as the Government is confronted with many serious questions.

The most important matter is the moratorium sought by Germany and under discussion at London. It will be remembered that Belgium has a prior claim (after payment of the costs of the armies on the Rhine) to the first 2,000,000,000 gold marks in cash of reparation payments. After payment of this prior claim, Belgium is to receive the remainder of her indemnity proportionately with the other Allies. This priority was conceded to Belgium because the Allies realized that she not only needs cash but that she needs it immediately. These reparation payments are long overdue and, up to the present time, Belgium has received only a little over half of her priority claim. In the meantime, the Belgian Government has been compelled to advance a large sum for restoration purposes. If Germany ceases cash payments Belgium will be hard up for ready money, and her economic recovery will not only be set back, but may be fatally jeopardized. Belgium would be the chief sufferer from a moratorium.

Another problem which occupies the Government's attention is that of making Germany redeem about 6,000,000,000 German marks. These were forced on the Belgian people during the German occupation at the rate of one and a quarter francs per mark. The Belgian Government, on its return to Brussels after the armistice, considered it a patriotic duty to redeem this German currency from the Belgian holders at the same rate of exchange. The Versailles Treaty made no provision for the redemption of these marks by Germany, but left the matter to be settled directly between Germany and Belgium. In September, 1921, the question was taken up and a settlement agreed upon by the German Chancellor, Erzberger, on behalf of Germany, and by Mr. Francqui, the prominent Belgian financier, on behalf of Belgium. The terms have not been given out, but it was understood that the agreement provided that Germany should redeem 4,000,000,000 of the marks at one and a quarter francs per mark and that Belgium should retain the remaining 2,000,000,000 marks and liquidate them as best she could.

Germany failed to act on this agreement, and, after pursuing dilatory tactics for nine months, finally, in June of this year, sent a delegation to Brussels for further discussion. Again it seemed that a final agreement would be reached when the assassination of Rathenau gave a further excuse for delay. The Belgian Prime Minister, Mr. Theunis, has now arrived at the opinion that

the German Government is simply carrying out a policy of evasion in the hope of reducing the rate for the redemption of the marks. Consequently the Belgian Government has decided to indemnify itself, as far as possible, and has ordered that all German property held under sequestration shall be immediately sold and the proceeds applied to the German debt to Belgium. The amount of sequestered German property in Belgium is estimated at between 500,000,000 and 800,000,000 francs. Among these properties are the real estate holdings of the Deutsche Bank, including an ugly but imposing building, partly finished, in one of the main streets of Brussels. There are a number of other private German real estate holdings throughout Belgium and an important quantity of commercial and industrial German businesses at Antwerp.

The League of Nations, in July, 1922, formally confirmed the Belgian mandate over Ruanda and Urundi, and Belgium has officially entered upon the administration of this useful addition to the Belgian Congo. These two mandated provinces occupy the extreme northwest end of what was formerly German East Africa. They cover about 15,000 square miles and are not far south of the Equator, bordering on Lake Kivu and on the northern end of Lake Tanganyika. The district is high and healthful, lying on an average about 5,000 feet above sea-level. The climate is temperate, making the territory suitable for colonization by Europeans. The country is chiefly pastoral and agricultural. The natives are of a rather superior grade, and they raise large numbers of sheep, goats and long-horned cattle. Those who undertake agriculture cultivate bananas, sweet potatoes, beans and sorghum. The soil and climate are suitable for the cultivation of nearly all the European vegetables and fruits. Rye has been successfully grown, and experiments are being made with wheat.

This mandated district is only a small fraction of former German East Africa, and is only about one-third of the German territory conquered and occupied by the Belgian troops during the war. In 1916 the Belgians captured Tabora, the capital of the German colony, and occupied nearly all the western end of the country. In some quarters in Belgium disappointment was felt over the fact that the Belgian mandate was not made larger so as to include Kigoma, an important town of 15,000 inhabitants, on the shore of Lake Tanganyika and forming the western terminus of the railroad to the seaport of Dar-es-Salam. The Belgians have a port at Albertville on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika, nearly opposite Kigoma, and the Dar-es-Salam Railway is the shortest route to the sea from the eastern section of the Belgian Congo. However, as Great Britain has received the mandate covering the

rest of German East Africa and including the railway and its terminals, the Belgians have made a working arrangement with the British. This provides that Congo traffic over the railroad shall not be discriminated against, and that the Belgians shall be granted the same freight rates and other privileges as those accorded "the most favored nation."

The Belgian Congo is not yet self-supporting, but it is a valuable asset to Belgium for the future. The Treasury of the Colony is kept en-

tirely separate from the Belgian Treasury. For the current year the Belgian Congo will probably have to borrow about 90,000,000 francs (approximately \$7,000,000) to carry out the proposed improvements. But the credit of the colony is high. It is reported that one of the representatives of the British Treasury has said that among all the countries to which England granted loans during the war, the Belgian Congo is the only one that has paid its interest coupons promptly and regularly.

POLAND'S POLITICAL CRISIS

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922.]

THE Polish Cabinet crisis, which began with the virtually enforced resignation of the Ponikowski Government on June 6, was only temporarily resolved by the inauguration of a new Cabinet under Arthur Sliwinski on July 29; this Cabinet, faced by the hostility of a powerful Parliamentary bloc favoring Ponikowski and hostile to Chief of State Pilsudski, was forced to resign precipitately on July 7. The crisis continued throughout July, and became acute on July 14 when the main committee of the Nationalist Party passed a resolution to elect Adelbert Korfanty Premier. Pilsudski bitterly opposed this choice, in view of Korfanty's antecedents as the leader of the Polish uprising in Upper Silesia early last year, and declared that he would resign if Korfanty took office. News of the appointment created consternation in German Government circles in Silesia, as it was felt that the rise to power of a man who was regarded as the embodiment of the most extreme spirit of nationalism would play into the hands of the extremists on the German side, and bring obstacles to the much-hoped-for reign of peace in this hitherto war-torn area. The Peasants' Party, the Social Democrats and the National Minority Parties of the Polish Diet protested vehemently, and the prospect of a bitter Parliamentary struggle loomed large. The deadlock continued, the President working energetically to balk all efforts of the Nationalists to put their resolution into actual effect, while his opponents toward the end of July were striving to induce Parliament to pass a motion withdrawing support from the Chief of State. On July 29 M. Pilsudski scored a compromise victory, when at the request of a majority of the Diet that he take the initiative in the formation of a new Cabinet, he invited Dr. Julian Nowak, Rector of the University of Cracow, to accept the Premiership. Dr. Nowak at once bent his energies to form a Cabinet, and succeeded in organizing a new governing body constituted thus:

DR. JULIAN NOWAK—Premier.
GABRYEL NARUTOWICZ—Foreign Affairs.
KAZIMIERZ SOSNKOWSKI—War.
ANTONI KAMIENSKI—Interior.
K. JASTREBSKI—Finance.
HENRYK STRASBURGER—Industry and Commerce.

LUDWIK ZACORNY-MARYNOWSKI — Transportation.

JOSEF RAZYNSKI—Agriculture.

J. MAKOWSKI—Religion and Public Instruction.

LUDWIK DAROWSKI—Labor.

M. MOZYNSKI—Posts and Telegraphs.

WITOLD CHODKO—Public Health.

M. RYBYNSKI—Public Works (temporary).

This Cabinet is mainly composed of former members of the Ponikowski Cabinet. Dr. Nowak, the Premier, is considered an expert on economic and governmental subjects, and though not aligned with any definite political party, has acted as adviser to both the President and the Ministry. His general policy is toward peace and away from all militaristic adventures, combined with a desire to effect a mutual understanding alike with Germany and Moscow. His tenure of office began auspiciously with a vote of confidence by Parliament following the new Premier's first address to the legislative body.

Thus was ended a most unpleasant political crisis of long standing, in which President Pilsudski has found himself confronted and opposed by a strong Parliamentary group of the Right. This crisis began with the virtual dismissal by the President of the former Premier Ponikowski with all his Cabinet, their views of conciliation with Russia, which came out strongly at the Genoa conference, having been opposed by M. Pilsudski, whose general trend is said to be anti-Russian. The President's view was that the Ponikowski Government was not strong enough to deal with the many difficult problems facing Poland in consequence of her geographical position, hemmed in as she is between Germany and Russia, with a hostile Lithuania strongly backed by the Germans at her very doors, and also in view of the coming general elections in the Fall. The Nationalist Party and the Right elements in general lean toward Russia, and have long opposed the nationalistic "Polish bulwark" policy of President Pilsudski. The "wobbling" of the various Right and Centre groups led to lack of support of M. Przanowski, chosen by the Diet commission, and the same factor brought about the fall of Pilsudski's candidate, M. Sliwinski, who actually succeeded in forming a Cabinet, only to be forced to resign after heated debate

by a vote showing the narrow margin of 201 as against 195. The resolution favoring Korfanty was a challenge to the President, between whom and the Diet, in consequence of the fact that Poland has as yet no legal constitution to regulate the respective powers, conflict has been incessant for many months. The President accepted this challenge, declared he would resign rather than accept Korfanty, who proposed bringing back into power both M. Skirmunt, the Foreign Minister, and M. Michalski, the Finance Minister, under the Ponikowski régime, and only after many discussions and much negotiation was Dr. Nowak accepted by both parties as a compromise.

Though the conflict with Lithuania was considered settled by the incorporation of the Vilna territory with Poland on April 18, new clashes in the former Lithuanian districts of White Russia now occupied by Poland, including Grodno and Vilna, were reported on Aug. 3. The Lithuanian peasants, it appeared, had for several weeks been conducting guerrilla warfare against the Poles in these regions; the Grodno-Skedel bridge had been blown up, an ammunition depot blown up, and a number of pitched battles had been fought, compelling the Poles to reinforce their troops and gendarmes by infantry and cavalry troops.

With this exception, Poland's foreign relations were peaceful, despite warlike threats of Trotzky and other Red Army leaders in Moscow. Negotiations had been undertaken to bring about trade agreements between Poland and Belgium and Poland and Germany. The Polish-Belgian entente had been broached at The Hague Conference. Negotiations with Germany were begun

at Warsaw on July 17; the German delegation was headed by Herr von Stockhammer, of the German Foreign Office. The Berlin press devoted much space to these discussions, which were to cover a large number of questions outstanding between the two countries, mostly rising out of the fact that the whole of the western part of the new Poland was German territory until 1919. The German Government has several times striven to induce Poland to cancel the rights given her under the Versailles Treaty to expropriate German colonists settled in Posnania and West Prussia, and the right of persons of Polish race to choose Polish citizenship. A trade boycott proved a boomerang, and commercial German interests have been pressing the German Government to effect an understanding direct with Warsaw. Another question was that of the transit of German goods shipped to Russia through Poland.

As regards Upper Silesia, the Polish-German discussions for co-operation had proceeded smoothly, and Poland was busily engaged in consolidating her control of the newly acquired Polish sections, including the new railroad lines which had been delivered over to her, and the administration of 500 new schools taken over by the Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction. Reconstruction of the Eastern Polish provinces, which suffered severely from the World War and the conflict with Russia in 1919-20, was proceeding energetically.

Definite results of the last census in Poland of Sept. 30, 1921, announced officially at the beginning of July, show that the present population of Poland, exclusive of Upper Silesia, is 25,372,447, of whom 8,012,564 are non-Poles.

RECOGNITION OF THE BALTIC STATES

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

UNIVERSAL joy and deep satisfaction reigned in the three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—on July 2, a date historic for these new nations created from the ruins of Czarist Russia, for on that day the United States formally recognized their respective Governments de jure. In making the announcement, the State Department gave the following explanation:

"The Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been recognized either de jure or de facto by the principal Governments of Europe, and have entered into treaty relations with their neighbors. In extending to them recognition on its part, the Government of the United States takes cognizance of the actual existence of these Governments during a considerable period of time, and of the successful maintenance within their borders of political and economic stability.

"The United States has consistently maintained that the disturbed condition of Russian affairs may not be made the occasion for the alienation of Russian territory, and this principle is not deemed to be infringed by the recognition at this time of the Governments of Estonia,

Latvia and Lithuania, which have been set up and maintained by an indigenous population. * * * Evan E. Young will continue to act as Commissioner of the United States in these countries, with the rank of Minister."

This action by the State Department marked the gradual alteration of American policy in that quarter, based on the long and apparently stable existence of these republics. Both the Harding and the Wilson Administrations had repeatedly refused to recognize these or any other Governments carved out of the former Russian Empire. The recognition of Albania was announced at the same time. (See Albania.) All three of the newly recognized republics, through their official representatives at Washington, expressed the gratitude of their countries. The rejoicing of Latvia was especially pronounced. M. Meierovicz, the Latvian Premier, sent a telegram of appreciation to the State Department, and the whole population of Riga on July 28 turned out with American flags and marched amid popular rejoicing to acclaim the American representatives. Lithuanian societies in New York gave similar evidences of their national joy.

THE GRECO-ALLIED CRISIS IN TURKEY

How the allied forces in the Near East prevented the Greek Army from advancing on Constantinople—Situation in the Turkish capital and at Angora—Change of Government in Persia—Enver Pasha as Emir of Turkestan

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

THE situation in the Near East, where for many months the Greek forces of King Constantine have been facing the Nationalist Turkish Army of Mustapha Kemal without action on either side, was suddenly transformed by the Greeks in July into one of the greatest menace, not only to the Turks, but also to the allied powers. The new factor was the determination of the Greeks to liquidate the long and costly war by an advance in force on Constantinople, the Turkish capital. The resolute attitude displayed by the allied forces, marshaled by Colonel Harington, the British commander, alone frustrated this project, for which Greece had mobilized all her military strength at Rodosto, a port in Thrace some seventy miles west of Constantinople. In view of this unexpected firmness of the allied commanders, the Greeks, for the time being, at least, abandoned this scheme, but, by the issuing of a decree declaring Smyrna autonomous, gave notice that they would never give up the territory they had fought for in Asia Minor.

The coming events were foreshadowed early in July. The new Greek Generalissimo, Hadzianesti, returned from the front and held daily consultations with the Athens Cabinet. The morale of the army at the front, he stated, was excellent, but the army was weary of the whole situation, and demanded some decisive action. The Greek Government seized the psychological moment, and on July 27 delivered to the Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy a note which virtually proclaimed Greece's liberty of action to end the war with the Turks by "decisive steps." What those steps were to be was not at first revealed, but heavy Greek concentrations in Thrace soon pointed to an advance upon Constantinople. The French Government at once replied that it would not permit a Greek Army to transgress upon the territory of Constantinople, which was under occupation by the Allies, and that if Greece insisted, France would use all its force to resist such a move. The Italian Government sent a similar reply. Sir Charles Harington, commander of the allied forces in Constantinople, notified the Greek commander that he would oppose such an advance by force of arms. The Greek Government on July 29 informed the allied commission that it would not order an advance on Constantinople without permission of the Allies.

This situation was further complicated by a proclamation issued by M. Sterghiades, Greek High Commissioner of Smyrna, on July 30, announcing a régime of self-government for the re-

gions in Asia Minor, with Smyrna as the capital, to be known as Occidental Asia Minor and embracing the areas occupied by the Greek military forces, including, besides the Province of Smyrna, certain parts of Western Asia Minor inhabited mainly by Greeks, Circassians, Armenians and Jews. This action completely nullified the allied offers to Turkey of last March, when a tentative plan for peace was presented to the Turks, providing for Greek evacuation of these territorial acquisitions, and brought chaos into all the allied plans for peace. Greek soldiers continued to pour into Rodosto, and heavy batteries were landed, though the Greeks already admitted that the allied attitude, especially the declaration of Colonel Harington, were discouraging in the extreme.

British soldiers were moved across the Bosphorus to reinforce French forces on the Tchatalja line, where the Greeks had 70,000 men, as against allied forces numbering only 10,000 men, but backed by more than thirty British warships. This fleet took a position on the northern side of the Sea of Marmora, its guns trained on the entire right wing of the Greek Army. Additional British forces were being rushed from the Asiatic side and from Malta. Troop movements continued into the first days of August, and new forces were landed from the fleet. An offer of reinforcements from the Sublime Porte was refused by Colonel Harington. The Greek Army remained inactive, and made no attempt to precipitate hostilities. The Greek Government, however, on Aug. 4, sent a note to the allied powers, protesting that the allied decision infringed Greece's rights as a belligerent, and declared that continued delay in the conclusion of peace would result in fresh calamities to the Christians in Asia Minor.

On the Tchatalja front, up to Aug. 5, two British and two French divisions were added to the defensive forces. Allied warships were keeping a vigilant watch along the coast. Colonel Harington, meanwhile, was endeavoring to establish a neutral zone by the withdrawal of Greek and allied forces for two miles on each side of the line in order to prevent a clash. General Vlahoupoulos, the Greek commander, had inflicted severe punishment on officers commanding a patrol which violated the neutral zone early in the week. Both the Constantinople and the Angora Governments had protested against giving Smyrna and other Turkish districts autonomy under a Greek protectorate.

The return of prominent members of the

Turkish Committee of Union and Progress, which suffered a temporary eclipse after the armistice, was the subject of much comment in Constantinople toward the middle of July. The return of Djavid Bey, Finance Minister during the war, and his appointment as Ottoman delegate on the International Council of Public Debt, was given much prominence because of the fact that he has been a bitter critic of the Allies, and particularly of France. The arrival of such other "Young Turks" as Ahmed Riza, Kutchuk Talaat and Hussein Djahid, all three of whom, with Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey and Djemal Pasha, were mainly responsible for bringing Turkey into the war against the Allies, and especially for organizing the extermination of the Christian minorities, was regarded by European circles in Constantinople with deep misgivings. Scarcely encouraging to the Christian minorities in Cilicia who survived the effects of the Franco-Kemalist treaty was the recent appointment by the Kemalist Government of one Hadji Ali as Vali of Adana. This Turk in 1914 distinguished himself by presiding over the expulsion of nearly half the Greek population of Eastern Thrace under conditions of great brutality.

Contrary to the wishes of Mustapha Kemal and his group at Angora, the Nationalist Assembly elected new Commissars on July 12. The new Chief Commissar, or Prime Minister, is Rauf Bey, former commander of the cruiser Hamidie during the first Balkan war, and a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. The other new Ministers are:

ABDULLAH AZMY BEY—Religious Affairs (unchanged).

FEVZI PASHA—Chief of the General Staff.

KIAZIM KARABEKIR PASHA—War Minister (unchanged).

YUSUF KEMAL BEY—Foreign Affairs (unchanged).

RESHAD BEY—Public Works.

MAHMUD ESSAD—Food.

JELLAH-ED-DIN ARIF BEY—Justice.

FUAD BEY—Health.

VEHBI BEY—Education.

HASSAN FEHMI—Finance.

ATA BEY—Interior (acting).

Five of the twelve Commissars, Rauf Bey, Reshad Bey, Mahmud Essad, Jellah-ed-Din and Fuad Bey, are members of the Committee of Union and Progress. The new law providing for the free election of Commissars by the Assembly will tend greatly to curtail the executive powers of Mustapha Kemal, and to add to the unexpected strength being shown by the committee.

Despite the menace of Arab revolt against French rule in Syria, and against Jewish domination in Palestine, Colonel T. E. Lawrence, the romantic young British archaeologist who led the Arabs to military success against the Turks during the war in the Near East, resigned on July

14 the position he had held in the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office at London as adviser on Near East affairs. In accepting his resignation, Mr. Churchill, the Colonial Secretary, expressed deep regret, declaring that Colonel Lawrence's guidance in this department had been invaluable.

[See also article, "League Mandates Approved."]

PERSIA

For the first time in nearly fifty years Persia is now defended by a purely Persian army with Persian officers. This is due to the withdrawal of the British last year, which was followed by the departure of the Bolsheviks who had occupied Enzeli and Resht. Persian Cossacks succeeded the British military force and Persia found herself free from foreign influence. A brief local rebellion in Tabriz was put down in February and Ismail Khan, a Cossack officer, was sent there as Governor. Bolshevik propaganda and the appearance of a Bolshevik warship in Persian waters, off Enzeli in the Caspian, during the absence of the Shah in Europe, caused anxiety. Mirza Hassan Khan, the Prime Minister, resigned on May 9 and the crisis was only ended on June 19 by the appointment of the following cabinet:

GHAVAN-ES-SULTANEH — Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs.

RIZA KHAN, the Sardar-Sepah—War Minister.

FAHIM-UL-MULK—Finance.

WAHID-UL-MULK—Posts and Telegraphs.

MUSHIR-ES-SULTANEH—Justice.

MUHTASHAM-ES-SULTANEH—Education.

AMID-ES-SULTANEH—Public Works.

These officials were selected by the Mejliss, or Persian National Council, and the approval of the Shah, telegraphed from Europe, was regarded as a mere formality. Riza Khan, Persia's strong man, who has held the office of Minister of War in four successive Cabinets, is the special object of Bolshevik animosity and the Soviet Legation in Teheran has made repeated but vain attempts to cause his removal. The new Government intends taking steps to improve economic conditions, and for that purpose asked the United States to suggest names of Americans to serve as financial and other advisers, recalling Persia's efforts twelve years ago to free herself from foreign intrigue with the aid of W. Morgan Shuster, who was finally ousted from his position as Treasurer-General and financial adviser by a combination of Russian and British interests. Eighteen advisers are suggested.

A dispatch from London on Aug. 3 announced that the Mejliss had approved the engagement of Mills Paull, an American, as Director General of Finance for five years. He will draw up the budget and be directly responsible to the Minister of Finance. He will also be consulted on matters relating to concessions.

THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS

Norway reduces taxes on foreign-owned property and makes a commercial treaty with Spain—Denmark's deepening of the Drogden Channel will shorten the way for large vessels into the Baltic, to the detriment of the Kiel Canal

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

NORWAY

ACCORDING to official reports received from Norway on July 7 the Government had decided to reduce by half the taxes of foreigners owning property and shares in Norway. The reduction is from 1 per cent. ad valorem. At the same time the Storthing authorized the Treasury Department to cancel collection for the budget year 1922-23 of ordinary Government taxes on property and income which have been demanded of shareholders living abroad. The same decision was made in regard to extraordinary taxes of foreigners' property for the budget year 1921-22, with refunding of the amounts of these latter taxes that have already been paid. In industrial and commercial circles of Norway great satisfaction is expressed with this reduction of taxation on foreign-owned property.

According to an official cable message from Norway on Aug. 8, the long-pending trade war between prohibition Norway and wine-producing Spain has been averted. The Storthing, by a vote of 103 to 47, authorized the Government to conclude a commercial treaty with Spain as a provisional settlement of the wine-imports question. The proposition sanctions the annual importation of 500,000 liters of liquors and strong wines. Under Norway's prohibition law, however, these liquors will not be for unrestricted sale, but will be used chiefly for medicinal and technical purposes.

At the hearing of the shipping case between the Kingdom of Norway and the United States Government before the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, Attorney Walter L. Fisher of Chicago, former Secretary of the Interior, finished the opening argument on July 28. Although an American, Mr. Fisher was chosen by the Norwegian Government to present its case against the American Government. The point at issue is the question of America's liability to Norwegian ship-owning companies for the value of contracts let by these companies to American shipyards to build freight vessels during the submarine war. Associated with Mr. Fisher in presenting the Norwegian claims are the American attorneys Edward B. Burling, George Rublee and Dean G. Aitchison of Washington and Evans Hubbard of New York. The American side of the case is represented by ex-Senator George Sutherland. The three Judges hearing the case are Chandler Anderson of New York, appointed by the American Government; Paul Benjamin Vogt of Christiania, chosen by Norway, and M. Valloton of Lausanne, a member of the Rhine Commission, who was named by the President of Switzerland and presides in the interest of arbitration.

The Norwegian contention is that the American Government requisitioned these contracts, and, therefore, by international law and the American Constitution, owes compensation. The United States Government regards these contracts as having been canceled and not requisitioned. Most of the ships had not been laid down at the time in question, but the United States Shipping Board ordered the yards to complete them, for which the board paid according to the terms of the original contracts. The Norwegian claim is for \$16,500,000, while the Shipping Board has been willing to offer the owners only \$2,500,000. A decision is expected some time in September.

The operation of Norway's commercial treaty with Soviet Russia continued on a troubled course. Flagrant violation of its terms was charged by the Central Office for Norwegian interests in Russia, at Christiania, at the end of July. Russia, it was charged, was beginning to ship from Archangel stocks of wood belonging to the Norwegian company known as the Russian Forest Interests. The company desired to file formal notice that it would claim these cargoes when they arrived in England. On Aug. 4 the Foreign Office gave out a statement that the safe belonging to the former Norwegian consulate in Moscow had been blown open and robbed of its contents, including important Norwegian, American and Rumanian records. It stated further that men had made previous attempts to blow open the safe, declaring they were acting under orders from the Soviet Government.

When the Norwegian delegation in Moscow protested, the Soviet Government replied that consular property did not have extra-territorial privileges, as the vault was unsealed and contained documents belonging to Russians. This the Norwegian Foreign Office denied, stating that the safe bore the consular seal and contained no Russian documents. The loss was estimated at 1,000,000 kroner.

The first air tour around the coast of Norway was achieved in the middle of July by Lieutenants Lützow Holm and Riiser Larsen, of the Norwegian Royal Navy. In hydromonoplanes they left the naval station at Horten, on Christiania Fjord, at 6 A. M., July 12, made two prearranged descents on the west and north coasts, and reached the military station at Ramsund at 6:15 A. M., July 13, having covered 1,140 miles. Continuing the flight after a few hours, they reached Tromsø before noon. Leaving there at 8:15 P. M., after a splendid flight along the Finnmarken coast, they reached Kirknes, the last town in Norway, at 4:50 A. M., July 14, completing the whole journey of 1,685 miles in twenty-one flying hours.

DENMARK

That Minister of Public Works Slebsager had obtained the Rigsdag's consent to excavate the Drogden waterway at an estimated cost of 700,000 kroner (normally \$189,000), for deep-draught shipping, was announced from Denmark in August. The Drogden is that channel of the sound which lies just southeast of Copenhagen, between the islands of Amager and Saltholm. The importance of this project lies in the fact that it will enable large steamers to pass through the sound from the Atlantic Ocean to the Baltic Sea. While the largest steamers can go to Copenhagen from the north, they cannot pass through the southern part of the sound to the Baltic. Either they have to detour through the Great Belt or use the altogether different route through the Kiel Canal. Completion of the Drogden waterway will reduce the importance of the famous German ship canal. The present depth of the Drogden is little more than twenty-two feet. The plan is to excavate this to a depth of twenty-five feet, with a minimum width at the bottom of 825 feet.

General approval has greeted the Public Works Ministry's project, all parties in the Rigsdag having sanctioned the Drogden appropriation. The excavation will begin at once, and the new deep-draught highway between the Atlantic and the Baltic should be opened within another year.

The latest reports received from Denmark indicate monthly improvement in the economic situation and business conditions in general. The 15 per cent. wage reduction recently agreed upon between workers and employers enables Danish manufacturers again to compete with the Germans and other people benefited by low exchange rates. There are only 39,000 unemployed in Denmark now, as against 100,000 half a year ago. The shipping situation, with a weekly decrease of idle tonnage, is better than it has been since the bottom fell out of the market a few years back. According to the Danish Shipowners' Association, only fourteen ships are now laid up, or a tonnage of 33,413, whereas in January ninety-five Danish ships were idle, having a total tonnage of 258,300.

At the same time Government expenses are being greatly reduced. During and after the war the salaries of all Government employees were increased in proportion to the rise in the cost of living; now they are being reduced in the same proportion, the salary reductions already effected amounting to 44,000,000 kroner (normally \$11,880,000).

War-time conditions made the Government railroads, postal and telegraph services highly unprofitable, and large yearly deficits have been the general rule for several years. Several commissions appointed to bring expenses down have so far succeeded in saving the Government 39,000,000 kroner annually. They dismissed superfluous employees, reduced overtime pay, and made the railroad administration more business-like by the appointment of an economic director. The latter made all purchases for the railroads, abolished the eight-hour day and effected a fuller utilization of the working hours. For the first time in many years the Government railroads

showed a surplus for the month of April, 1922, amounting to 4,500,000 kroner.

Last year's economic crisis fell heavily on Jewish financiers, as evidenced in the vicissitudes of the Landmandsbank of Copenhagen, the greatest of all Danish banks, and the centre of Jewish finance in Denmark, with a capital of 100,000,000 crowns. After rumors of its financial difficulties had been current all last year, 26,000,000 crowns were written off its reserve at its general meeting in April, 1922, to meet losses. The board's declaration that the bottom had been reached failed to convince the public. Early in July the official inspector of banks, together with representatives of the Danish National Bank, found it necessary to write off 55,750,000 kroner more. This operation reduced the Landmandsbank's reserve capital to 5,000,000 kroner; but finding its basis sound, the Danish National Bank agreed to put a fresh reserve capital at its disposal, so that on July 11 its total capital was 135,000,000 kroner.

At the first business session of the Copenhagen conference of the World's Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, Aug. 7, official welcome was given to a letter from Secretary of State Hughes, expressing President Harding's sympathy for the movement represented by the organization. The conference adopted a resolution expressing to President Harding a deep sense of obligation for his initiative in promoting the Washington conference, which, in a large measure, it said, relieved the world of the burden of naval armaments. The main subjects on the agenda are: The conditions of the religious minorities in Central and Eastern Europe; disarmament, and the duty of the Church regarding reconciliation and reconstruction. The press made much of the "magnetic personality" of the American leader of the conference, Dr. Nehemiah Boynton of Brooklyn. Prof. W. I. Hull of Swarthmore presented the case for disarmament; Sir Willoughby H. Dickinson, for the British delegation, presented a report on the religious minorities of Central and Eastern Europe, and Archbishop Soderblom of Upsala presented a similar paper on behalf of the Swedish representatives. Professor Hull said in his address that the nations' fears now keep more men under arms than there were before the World War.

SWEDEN

The visit of the Swedish war fleet to Flensburg at the beginning of the second week in August gave offense to Denmark. Danish newspapers bitterly denounce this naval honor to the city that has been the centre of nationalistic antagonism since the Slesvig plebiscite. They accuse Sweden of "selecting Flensburg for demonstrating Sweden's everlasting friendship and loyalty toward Germany."

On July 22, Folke Cronholm, former Swedish Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico City, and popularly regarded as intermediary between the German Minister, Heinrich von Eckhardt, and President Carranza in the passage of important notes early in the World War, sailed for Sweden. For three years he has lived in partial retirement in Mexico City. Following the exposure of the Zimmer-

mann notes, Cronholm left the Swedish diplomatic service, in which for many years he had held posts in various parts of the world.

Premier Hjalmar Branting, in an interview in the Social-Demokraten, the Stockholm newspaper formerly controlled by him, made a strong plea in defense of the policies of Premier Poincaré. He said the French Premier is misjudged, owing to German and French Communist propaganda, but is supported by all honest French citizens.

At the Interparliamentary Conference at Stockholm, ended July 12, the laws of the Northern Interparliamentary Group were amended to admit Iceland and Finland, if they wish to include themselves in the conference with Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The purpose of the conference is to discuss administrative problems of common interest.

FINLAND

The results of the general Parliamentary elections are regarded in the Finnish press as a victory for the Conservative and bourgeois elements. In the Diet, which the Finlanders call the Riksdag and the Finns call the Eduskunta, the seats were won as follows: Agrarians, 45; Progressives, 15; Finnish Coalitionists, 35;

Swedish Party, 25; Social-Democrats, 53; Communists, 27. Thus the parties of the Right and Centre (the first five named), control 120 votes, against 80 controlled by the parties of the Left, a safe majority, the proportion remaining the same as in the previous Diet. The Finnish Coalitionists gained seven seats and the Swedish Party three, while the Progressives lost 11. Whether the present business Ministry shall be retained or a new Ministry chosen will be decided when the newly elected Diet meets, early in September.

The Finnish police, about the middle of July, discovered an extensive communistic conspiracy with headquarters at Viborg, but carrying on espionage for Soviet Russia on a large scale in Helsingfors and several other parts of Finland and on the Karelian Peninsula. A new line of halting places for communications and supplies from Viborg over the Karelian Peninsula to Russia was also discovered, and about ten arrests were made.

Failure of negotiations with England for a loan caused a decline in the value of the Finnish mark, in the middle of July. The Finnish representatives, maintaining the right of Finland to relieve herself of the obligation of redeeming foreign bonds in foreign currency, could not accept England's conditions.

ITALY'S CIVIL WAR

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

THE undermining of the Facta Cabinet by Fascista violence led to its overthrow on July 20, by a vote of lack of confidence, 288 to 392. The vote was taken on a motion that the Government had not attained the pacification of the country needed for economic reconstruction. From July 20 to Aug. 1, Italian political history was mainly concentrated in the efforts of various Italian leaders to form a new Government and to harmonize the conflicting interests of the Socialist, Popular or Catholic, Democratic and Fascista Parties. Such veterans of the political arena as Bonomi and Orlando failed in attempts to form a Cabinet, with the result that on Aug. 1 the recently overthrown Premier, Signor Facta, was asked to step back into power with a new Cabinet chosen by himself. This he did. The new Ministry contained five new members (i. e., not in the former Facta Cabinet), and was mainly a coalition body made up of Democrats, Liberal Democrats, Popularists or Catholics, Social Democrats and one Reformist. Its personnel follows:

LUIGI FACTA—President of the Council Without Portfolio.

Senator PAOLINO TADDEI—Minister of Interior.

Senator CARLO SCHANZER—Foreign Affairs.

GIULIO ALESSIO—Justice.

MARCELLO SOLERI—War.

Senator TEOFILO ROSSI—Industry and Commerce.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA BERTONNE—Finance.

GIUSEPPE PARATORE—Treasury.

GIOVANNI AMENDOLA—Colonies.

VITO LUCIANI—Liberated Territory.

VINCENZO RICCIO—Public Works.

ANTONIO ANILE—Education.

GIOVANNI BERTINI—Agriculture.

ROBERTO DE VITO—Navy.

GIOVANNI COLONNA DI CESARO—Posts and Telegraphs.

ARNALDO DELLO SBARBA—Labor and Welfare.

The five new Ministers were Taddei, Alessio, Soleri, Paratore and Luciani. Great responsibility will fall particularly on Taddei, as Minister of the Interior, for on him will devolve the repression of Fascisti violence. Hopes for his success are based on his former record as Prefect of Turin, and especially his handling of the situation created in 1920 by the seizure of the factories there by the workers. In conciliating the workers and the operators he won considerable prestige. All the other new Ministers have had political experience under former Cabinets. The Democratic bloc proper is made up of the Premier and of Taddei, Schanzer, Alessio, Soleri and Rossi; the two Catholic members are Anile and Bertini.

Collective Italy sighed with relief when this new Ministry was launched with Signor Facta again triumphant. The prospect that faced it was by no means reassuring. Fascista violence had continued throughout July, and had attained such proportions that scores were slain and thousands wounded in what may legitimately be called Italy's civil war. Toward the middle

of July the Italian towns of Viterbo, Cremona and Alatri had been occupied by the mobilized Fascisti forces, who were hailed as liberators from "a red terror" by the inhabitants. Some 3,000 Fascisti entered Cremona, and in retaliation for violent attacks in the *Avanti*, the Socialist organ there, devastated the Chamber of Labor, which was the Bolshevik centre, the printing house of the local Communist paper, and the seat of the Communist Co-operative; they also set fire to the houses of two Socialist Deputies. A force of 500 Government soldiers was hurriedly sent to Cremona to re-establish order. Violent scenes occurred in the Chamber at Rome, where the Socialists, backed by the extreme Catholics on one side, and the Fascisti and Nationalist leaders on the other, shouted accusations against the Government. The fall of Premier Facta's first Cabinet came but a few days later.

Similar violent action taken by the Fascisti in Ravenna had the serious consequence of provoking a general strike by all the labor unions in Rome as a protest against the Fascisti policy. Bad blood has existed between the Fascisti and the labor unions in Italy since last May, when the Fascisti occupied Bologna and expelled the Mayor, by whose decree the landlord policy of importing Fascisti labor, as opposed to union labor, was upheld. The Fascisti finally departed, but with the menace of further action unless the Mayor were withdrawn. The Government withdrew him, but the feud between Fascismo and Labor has continued. The labor strike began on Aug. 1, the date on which Premier Facta's new Cabinet came into power. Scenes like those during the war were observed as the Government troop patrolled the streets and turned the capital into what was virtually an armed camp, with all Government buildings, banks and strategic points strongly protected. Buses and street cars were run by volunteers. The strike lost force within two days, and transportation, postal and telegraph facilities improved; it was brought to an end on Aug. 3.

Meanwhile, however, clashes and sporadic killings occurred at many points in Italy. Milan, Ancona, Genoa and other cities were terrorized by Fascista violence, Aug. 3-4. The Fascisti took the Municipal Building of Milan by storm amid triumphant shouts, and demanded the resignation of all the Socialist Aldermen. More than fifty people were wounded in the fighting in this city. Gabriele d'Annunzio, the poet and former leader of the Garibaldian raid on Fiume, appeared on the balcony of the Municipal Building on the night of Aug. 4 and delivered an impassioned speech to the Fascisti, in which he urged them and all Italians "to strike toward goodness—not inert, weak, indulgent goodness, but virile goodness, a goodness which conquers national frontiers, which grimly faces the hardest destiny, and which overcomes all evils."

Ancona was occupied by the Fascisti to com-

pel the city to abandon the strike, which continued after its cessation in Rome, despite a Fascista ultimatum. Numerous bands marching from the provinces began an advance at sunrise. A battle ensued which lasted all day, and in which the invaders were the victors. As soon as the resistance was crushed the Fascisti set fire to the Anarchist Club, the Chamber of Labor, the Railway Men's Club and other Socialist and radical headquarters. Four dead and many wounded were listed. The few trains sent out from the city were manned by Fascisti stokers and engineers.

In Genoa fierce fighting occurred between the Fascisti and the *Arditi del Popolo* (a counter-organization formed some months ago by the Communists) in the night of Aug. 3-4. Government troops, aided by several hundred sailors, landed during the night, broke down street barricades and restored order. Then they occupied the *Arditi* headquarters, where, after finding explosives and arms, they arrested forty persons. Fascisti bands were arriving from various other cities to reinforce their comrades. Similar scenes occurred at Padua, Pistoja and other cities. Most of the disorders had been temporarily repressed by Aug. 5, except at Parma and Bari, and the new Cabinet, which seemed to be gaining strength, was taking all possible measures to keep the disorderly elements in check.

While Premier Facta and the Pope were appealing for peace, the Fascisti, however, were planning new mobilizations. Burnings and bloodshed continued in Bologna, Genoa and other points. On Aug. 7 it was announced that drastic instructions had been issued to the military authorities from the Ministry of the Interior, controlled by Taddei, to put down civil war at all costs and to prevent demonstrations of any kind. Martial law had been extended on Aug. 7 to Brescia, the sixth province to come under a military régime. The provinces involved were Genoa, Milan, Parma, Ancona and Leghorn. The famous San Giorgio Palace at Genoa had been stormed and taken only the day before by the Fascisti, who seized control of the port, declaring that they would not permit the work to be done by a Socialist union. Many members of the subversive labor unions were said to be deserting to Catholic or Fascisti unions.

The Fascisti leaders were said to be well satisfied with the part they had played in the struggle against the red tide of revolution, and Benito Mussolini, leader of the Fascista organization, on Aug. 8 instructed the Secretary General of the organization to order by telegraph the demobilization of the Fascisti throughout Italy. A manifesto declared that the Fascisti had won on every front, and that they had protected the workers' legitimate interests, abolished the general strike forever, and defeated subversive elements. It urged all Fascisti to prepare "for the greater battle which will crown our work."

JAPAN'S MOVEMENTS IN SIBERIA

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

JAPAN'S formal decision to evacuate Siberia was announced on June 24. The final date for withdrawal of the Japanese forces was set for Oct. 30, 1922. (See August CURRENT HISTORY, page 752.) The announcement was supplemented by the following statement, authorized by the Japanese Foreign Office at Tokio:

"The decision to evacuate is intended to place Japan on record as a non-aggressive nation, striving to maintain the peace of the world. It has been a matter of regret that various circumstances prevented Japan from carrying out her desire to withdraw her troops from Siberia. It cannot be said that political conditions there have attained full stability, but a change has occurred in the general conditions of the whole of Russia. Communistic measures seem to have been modified. The powers have altered their attitude toward Russia, as attested by the invitations to the Soviet Government to attend the Genoa and The Hague conferences, and the conclusion of non-aggressive and non-propaganda agreements with Moscow. * * * Japan believes that with this removal of cause for suspicion by the Chita Government, the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia will strive to reach a commercial agreement with Tokio."

The proposed evacuation was limited to the Maritime Province, and no reference was made to the northern part of the neighboring Island of Saghalien, which Japan occupied as a security pledge against the receipt of satisfaction for the massacre of Nikolaievsk.

Further details of the evacuation plan were given on July 14. Troops were to be withdrawn from the mainland on Sept. 15. Saghalien Island itself, or, rather, its northern part, was to be similarly evacuated as soon as the Japanese Government obtained satisfaction for the Nikolaievsk massacre. As a measure of protection for Japanese interests during and after the evacuation, Japanese warships will be stationed off Vladivostok and communication will be established between the Saghalien garrison at Alexandrovsk and Nikolaievsk. The Korean Army headquarters will exercise rigid guard on the frontier after the troops have left Siberia.

On the eve of fulfillment of this formal pledge to evacuate Siberia Japan, faced by the necessity of reaching a final understanding with the Russians in view of the failure of the Dairen conference, of her own initiative invited representatives of both the Far Eastern Republic and of Soviet Russia to meet Japanese delegates either at Harbin or at Dairen. This invitation was officially announced by Moscow on July 29. M. Janson, Foreign Minister of the Chita Government, and Leonid Krassin, Acting Foreign Minister of Russia, had sent a joint note of acceptance, urging, however, that the conference be held either at Moscow or at Chita. Great importance was attached by the Russians to this proposed conference, which was expected to open before the end of August. The object of the proposal

was believed to be Japan's desire to obtain what commercial and political benefits she can from the evacuation, which she now sees is unavoidable. Japan's trade has long suffered from the effect of the Chinese trade boycott and the conditions of disorder and violence in Siberia, thus cutting off the two main Japanese markets on the Asiatic mainland. The invitation was interpreted as foreshadowing the conclusion of a commercial agreement between Russia and Japan. Since the failure of the conference at Dairen between representatives of the Far Eastern Republic and Japan, Japan's intention to come to terms directly with Soviet Russia has generally been admitted by Japanese spokesmen. Tokio, however, has not officially confirmed this, and Japan is bound by her pledge to the Allies not to negotiate separately with Moscow. On Aug. 4 it was reported from Tokio that the Japanese Government would try to persuade the Soviet Government to open Siberia on an equal footing to all persons, leaving the administration of the country to Russia.

Viscount Uchida, the Japanese Foreign Minister, on Aug. 7 notified Charles Warren, American Ambassador to Tokio, that the treaties drawn at the Washington conference had been officially approved by Prince Hirohito, now Regent of Japan, and that Japan was ready to deposit the ratification at Washington as soon as it received word from Washington that the other signatory powers were prepared to take similar action. This notification was in response to a note from the Ambassador transmitted on Jan. 8 stating that President Harding would deposit the ratification for the United States as soon as the other powers approved and ratified the treaties. Japan's signed treaties were being forwarded to Washington, to await the fixing of a date by the President for the formal consummation of the ratification ceremony after ratifications from all the signatory powers have been received. The Japanese Admiralty, it was stated on Aug. 10, was awaiting only ratification by the United States and Great Britain of the Five-Power Naval Treaty to put into effect its plans for scrapping war tonnage under the naval limitation program.

As regards land armament, Japan will reduce her army expenditures about 20,200,000 yen a year by carrying out her engagements at the Arms Conference, according to official information received in Washington from Tokio on Aug. 9. This saving will be effected through the carrying out of the pledge made at Washington to evacuate Siberia, the definite plan for which was announced a few weeks ago by the Japanese Government. (See Siberia.) Seven specific categories of army retrenchment had been decided on by the General Staff and by Government departments as the result of an investigation by the Japanese War Office in the light of the new conditions created by the Washington conference. The retrenchment plan provides for drastic reductions in personnel.

THE CHINESE CHAOS

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

THE Chinese political situation has become so badly tangled that no one at present can foretell how it will result. General Chang Tso-lin, after his defeat at the hands of General Wu Pei-fu, withdrew to Manchuria, but his attitude remained so menacing that Wu was forced to keep his troops actively mobilized, ready for any new invasion through the Great Wall by Chang's forces. Meanwhile Chang set himself up as ruler of the three Manchurian provinces, and hurled defiance at Wu, at the new Peking Government, and at all his other enemies.

Agents of General Wu, sent into Manchuria, reported on July 30 that Chang Tso-lin was making extensive preparations at a point just outside the Great Wall. He had established three defense lines, the first at the Wall one mile from Shan-haikwan, the second at Wanchitum, and the third at Sulching. Fortresses were being built at Chiu-menkow. It was further stated that Chang had made an alliance with certain Yangtse Tuchuns, with the object of restoring Tuan Chi-jui, the former leader of the pro-Japanese Anfu Party, ousted from Peking over a year ago, and eventually of again joining forces with General Sun in the South. As a result of Chang's activities, General Wu Pei-fu had been compelled to renew military preparations on a large scale.

Chang, after making himself the actual dictator of Manchuria, issued a formal declaration of independence on Aug. 1, notifying all the foreign Consuls of Peking that diplomatic questions concerning Manchuria must be referred to him, and that he would recognize no agreements concluded by the Peking Government. It was at this moment that the Peking leaders were faced by a most embarrassing demand from Japan that the Government take steps to prevent further incursions of bandit bands across the Manchurian-Korean frontier. Official Chinese spokesmen pointed out that, in view of Chang Tso-lin's secession and declaration of independence, the Central Government could do nothing; they declared, however, that the Chinese garrisons had fought loyally against these bandits, side by side with the Japanese, and that the raids were of infrequent occurrence. Intimations were plainly made that Japan was preparing for an invasion of Manchuria in her own interests, and that the Japanese note (sent July 5) was merely by way of preparation.

In the South Dr. Sun Yat-sen strove desperately to regain his power in Canton, while his fleet, having run the gauntlet of the shore forts, remained anchored at Shameen, a suburb of Canton. The Macao forts, two miles down the West River from the city, were taken by his forces on July 12. A drive by Sun on July 16 in the vicinity of Shiukwan (150 miles north of Canton) was broken by General Chen's forces, numbering 14,000, sent north to Shiukwan from Canton along the Canton Railway line, which Chen controlled, to meet this attack. Sun's chances of recapturing Canton were considerably lessened by this defeat. General Yeh-chu, Chen's general in command,

reported on July 20 that Sun's forces had been completely routed, and hundreds slain. The total casualties from three days of fighting were estimated at 2,000. Despite these reverses, Sun seemed confident of ultimate success toward the end of July—a confidence, it was latter revealed, inspired by his hope that his northern Kiangsi troops would reach Canton, and join forces with him. This, however, General Chen for five weeks succeeded in preventing, despite some minor successes gained by Sun's army about sixty miles north of the Southern capital. Finally, however, at the end of July, some 25,000 troops marched to Sun's aid, and launched a frontal attack on Chen's divisions at Shiukwan. Fierce fighting took place. On Aug. 2 Chen at his Canton headquarters published a bulletin stating that Sun's troops had been defeated and driven out of Shiukwan, that 2,000 rifles, twenty-one machine guns and nine cannon had been captured, and that Sun's losses were estimated at 3,000 killed, wounded or captured. On Aug. 7 Sun's disastrous defeat was confirmed; his army, broken and demoralized, was in full retreat to Kiangsi Province, whence it had come, and General Chen was master of the field. Sun fled to Shanghai on Aug. 9.

While this scene was being enacted in the South, where but a few short weeks before Sun Yat-sen was the head of an influential Government, China's Parliament met for the first time in five years in Peking (Aug. 1). Drafting of a permanent Constitution for the country was to be an early item on the program. After a roll call in both houses had established the existence of a legal quorum, it was decided to resume the business of government at the point where it had been left off five years before, when the secession of the South occurred and split the country up into two independent governments. Stormy scenes arose soon after the House met, when the Speaker Wu Ching-lien urged that the five-year lapse be considered in the light of a recess. This course, if adopted, would lead to ignoring the acts of the members of the Southern minority who met in Canton last year and elected Sun Yat-sen President of China, and compel those members to repudiate Sun in Peking. Again, when the Speaker asked the House to proceed to the adoption of a Constitution, pandemonium arose, the Southerners charging the Northern members with treachery in allowing themselves to be dissolved by the militarists. The Speaker led the debate for the North, flatly declaring that all acts since dissolution were illegal, and particularly the election of Sun Yat-sen, which had been accomplished without a quorum. No vote was reached before adjournment. Sittings were resumed on Aug. 8. Strong representations were made for the speedy adoption of the new Constitution, which General Wu and President Li are urging to have patterned after that of the United States. The Parliament was faced by the necessity to appoint a new Premier to succeed Dr. Yen, who had resigned. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, former American Minister

to China, had been invited to reorganize Chinese finances.

The Government was further harassed by news that the Governor of Chekiang had defied Peking, dismissed the Government telegraph and telephone operators, and sent the Central Government notification that the province would henceforth use the funds of these services for its own expenses. Civil war in Szechuan, mutinies in Anhwei, chaos in Kiangsi, where bands of disorganized soldiers were in control of many towns, combined with new mutinies by the unpaid forces of General Wu at Kiukiang, where 350 houses and all shops were looted, causing a loss of \$4,000,000 in three

hours and affecting foreign lives and property, presented an ensemble sufficient to drive even a strong government to despair.

The general gloom was accentuated early in August by the typhoon and tidal wave which swept the port of Swatow, 250 miles north of Hongkong, Aug. 2-3, considered one of the worst disasters in modern Chinese history. The dead were estimated by the Swatow Chamber of Commerce at 28,000. Later figures increased this appalling total to 50,000. One hundred thousand people were homeless, and desolation hovered over the ruined city. Relief measures were actively proceeding.

COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Austria's fiscal rehabilitation project pushed energetically by Premier Seipel—Count Bethlen's new Hungarian Cabinet—Czechoslovakia's commercial treaty with Soviet Russia—Bulgaria's difficulties with Reparation Commission

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

AUSTRIA is passing through a supreme crisis which must determine whether or not she can continue to exist at all as an independent State. During the month under review the new Government of Dr. Seipel has undertaken the task of building a foundation for Austria's economic recovery. The measures contemplated in the Government's scheme fall under four main heads—currency reform, economy, revenue reform and an internal loan.

The Government's remedy for the depreciation of currency is the establishment of a bank of issue, which was adopted by Parliament early in July. The law provides that the bank shall have the exclusive right to issue notes for twenty-five years. The capital is to be subscribed in gold or foreign values, and the bank undertakes to use all the means at its disposal to stabilize the value of its notes.

The economy proposals of the Government are far-reaching. First, Government enterprises must be made to pay their

way or are to be abandoned to private business; secondly, drastic steps are to be taken to cut down Government staffs; thirdly, saving is to be effected on salaries and allowances. The first

economy measure caused a strike of employees in the railway, post, telegraph and telephone services. A compromise was effected, but there is certain to be further difficulty. Wage and salary earners form precisely those classes which suffer most severely from the depreciated currency, and which will not tolerate economy that takes the form of lower wages and salaries unless they see it accompanied by a proportionate fall in prices.

The reform of the revenue is to consist mainly in a considerable increase of the taxes and in a raising of the tariff, or of State monopolies such as tobacco and salt. The Government expects to obtain an additional revenue of 260,000,000 crowns by its proposals. The estimated deficit on the budget of the current year is over 500,000,000 crowns. A deficit of about 250,000,000,



(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

DR. IGNATZ SEIPEL
The Priest-Premier of Austria, who is striving to lift the republic out of its financial difficulties

000 crowns has to be met. The Government proposes to find this sum by an internal compulsory loan, assessed on land, house property and the capital of joint stock companies. The bill for the loan was adopted by Parliament on July 19 and is designed to yield 400,000,000 crowns.

The Reparation Commission on July 21 agreed to release for twenty years the revenues from the forests, salt mines and State domains in order that they may be used as security for the bank of issue, and decided to liberate the customs and tobacco monopoly revenues as security for a foreign loan. Final approval was given for the bank of issue on Aug. 4, but Sir William Goode, formerly Chairman of the Austrian section of the Reparation Commission, feared that the relief offered had come too late.

Meanwhile, the value of the crown kept falling. Exchange stood at 52,000 crowns to the dollar on Aug. 4. Many shops closed, others withdrew their stocks and demonstrations by the workers against the high cost of living grew more violent.

HUNGARY

The new Hungarian Cabinet, formed by Count Bethlen, is a strictly party affair, in which the most unpopular members of the old Government, mostly adherents of the Clerical Party, were eliminated to make room for the Premier's followers. Only a single member, Josef Vass, at the head of the Public Welfare Department, belongs to the Clerical opposition. Count Bethlen's purpose was to disclaim the politicians prominent in the last Hapsburg effort. The Government has met on the whole with a favorable reception from the public. The Social Democrats, as a result of political persecution; the Rassazov Party, as the champions of progressive ideas, and the Kossuth Party, together possessing forty seats in the Chamber, are the most serious foes Count Bethlen has.

The passage of the Appropriations bill was marked by stormy scenes. Deputy Pekar, in a speech, referred to the tortures of bourgeois hostages during the Bolshevik régime. The Socialists resented his remarks, and the Government Deputies rolled up their sleeves and stormed the Socialist benches. Premier Bethlen and other members of the Cabinet rushed on the floor and separated the combatants.

Expulsions of Yugoslav families from Hungary are alleged by Belgrade as motive for the deportation on July 9 of 250 Hungarian families, fifty of whom lived in Belgrade. On the previous night eighty-five persons had been deported from Pecs without giving them time to take baggage or food with them and allowing them only 3,000 dinars, confiscating all the rest of their money. The exiles included four Protestant pastors, two Catholic priests, doctors, civil engineers and bank clerks. From Ujvidek and Szabadka there were ninety-six deportations. The Hungarian Government protested to Belgrade and sent an urgent appeal to the League of Nations to stop the deportations.

Hungarian soldiers armed with machine guns and hand grenades attacked the town of Hagersdorf in Burgenland on the night of July 19, but were repulsed by the Austrian garrison.

The value of the Hungarian crown continued to fall during the month under review, declining 60 per cent. in a fortnight. Owing to the enormous speculation in exchange, the Government, on Aug. 3, forbade trading in foreign currency. By Aug. 4 this ruling had put the members of the American Legation, the American colony and the visiting Y. M. C. A. party in an embarrassing position, because the banks, fearing heavy penalties, refused to buy dollars. A central exchange bureau, with exclusive right to deal in foreign moneys, was expected to open within a few days.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The text of the treaty between Czechoslovakia and Russia, signed in Prague on June 5, shows that the Soviet Republic intends to retain monopoly of the foreign trade of the country. It condemns in advance as a violation of its provisions all business arrangements concluded with private persons or groups in Russia not acting in the name or with the permission of the Bolshevik Government. Both sides pledge themselves to strict neutrality in case of an attack by a third party upon either of the signatory powers.

Article 1 declares that the treaty does not carry *de jure* recognition. Article 8 obligates both parties not to carry on any kind of propaganda against the other signatory power and not to take part in any political or social conflict in the other country. Article 11 obligates the Czechoslovak Government to support all practical efforts of its citizens in helping in the restoration of Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government guarantees in return that the Czechoslovak citizens located in Russia shall enjoy full legal protection. Article 13 provides for the resumption of postal, telegraph and transportation connections. Article 18 obligates the contracting parties not to confiscate or seize imported property or imported goods, if imported in accordance with the proper laws and regulations. Article 19 guarantees to Czechoslovak citizens the inviolability of property they take into Russia and also that of the property they may acquire there in a legal manner.

A sanitary agreement has been concluded between Czechoslovakia and Poland, including the organization of a medical service on the frontier. This is the first sanitary agreement made between the new European States, and will be deposited with the Health Bureau of the League of Nations, which has been designated as arbitrator in case of any difference arising in carrying out the agreement, the signing of which is to take place in Warsaw.

BULGARIA

It was given out from Sofia, July 21, that the Government had refused to accept the Reparation Commission's demand for the signing of a contract acceding control of Bulgaria's finances, taxes and revenues in return for a three-years' postponement of reparation payments, and was awaiting the commission's consequent action. By July 25, the Reparation Commission had ordered

Bulgaria to pay immediately 4,000,000,000 levas (normally \$7,720,000), due to the Allies under the peace treaty terms. Through Minister of Finance Tourlakoff, the Government asked the Opposition Party for support in rejecting this demand, maintaining that Bulgaria, though willing to pay within her capacity, could not pay so much, and was not willing to abandon her customs commission. On July 29, the Government replied to the commission's demand for this payment with a request for a three-years' moratorium, and pointed out that such a payment at once would demoralize the exchange. It added that, as the amount of Bulgaria's debts was not definitely fixed, the payment of such a sum would be inopportune.

On July 17, Bulgaria appealed to the Council of the League of Nations, under Article 11 of the Covenant, to put an end to the raids by Bulgarian irregulars (Komitadjis) on the neighboring territories of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece. Bulgaria suggested the sending of a League committee of inquiry, and pleaded the difficulty of recruiting any adequate military force on the voluntary basis prescribed by the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria attributed the activities of these Komitadjis to the unjust conditions of existence endured by those Bulgarians who were left outside of the Bulgarian State by the peace treaties, the irregulars being recruited from among these unredeemed nationals.

Complaint of "the persistence in foreign countries of false statements regarding the alleged persecution of Russian refugees and the soldiers of Wrangel's army in Bulgaria by the Bulgarian Government," was published with a full denial of the charges at the end of June, by the official Bulgarian Press Bureau. According to this statement, General Wrangel had about 20,000 men in Bulgaria, fully armed, with some 30,000 non-combatants, besides other remnants of his White Army in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. Trouble with these refugee soldiers

began in May. The Bulgarian Government claimed discovery that Wrangel's staff officers were interfering with the internal politics of the country, organizing action against the Bulgarian Communist Party. When the Government ordered these officers out of Bulgarian territory, Wrangel addressed an ultimatum to it from Belgrade. Acting then under alleged directions from the Conference of Ambassadors, the Bulgarian Government proceeded, with its army of only 6,000, to disarm Wrangel's army of 20,000, which had established military "tribunals" in Bulgarian villages to try both Russian soldiers and Russian civilians. The clashes resulting from the activities of Russian officers against Bulgarian Communists had given rise in May to widespread rumors of "Bulgarian Communist revolution." Premier Stambolisky's Government, being unfavorable to communism, took no action against these disturbances until the middle-class parties became hostile to his régime. Then, after the alleged discovery by the Sofia police of documents implicating the Russian officers in a plot against the Government, these officers were arrested and banished from Bulgarian territory.

ALBANIA

The Government of Albania was formally recognized by the Department of State of the United States on July 27. The official announcement declared that as the Government at Tirana had been recognized by the principal nations of Europe, including its immediate neighbors, the United States, in extending recognition on its part, took cognizance of the successful maintenance of a national Albanian Government. Maxwell Blake will continue to act as Commissioner, with the rank of Minister.

At the request of the Albanian Government, three members of the League of Nations Commission are spending two months in Albania. One of the things they plan to do is to appoint a permanent financial adviser for the country.

MARTIAL RULE IN THE CAUCASUS

MARTIAL law was proclaimed in the three Caucasus States, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, now formally annexed to Soviet Russia, on July 18. This action was taken in an attempt to suppress the growth of the anti-Bolshevist movement which started in the Caucasus States after the percolation of news of Enver Pasha's military successes in Turkestan. (See Turkestan.) The Turkish Nationalist forces were preparing at this time to co-operate with the Russian divisions in the Caucasus to crush Enver's attempt to set up a new Moslem State, independent alike of Mustapha Kemal and of the Soviet Government, which had made the fatal mistake of bringing Enver into Turkestan. Toward the end of July it was reported that Enver, after driving the Bolshevist armies out of both Bokhara and Turkestan, had

been proclaimed Emir of Turkestan. This was the match necessary to light anew the flame of revolt against Soviet rule in the Caucasus, which has never ceased to smoulder since the Soviets annexed these independent States by military force.

Djemal Pasha, former Turkish Minister of Marine, and one of the Turkish triumvirate held responsible for the Armenian massacres under the old régime, was assassinated at Tiflis, Georgia, on July 25, according to dispatches from the Georgian capital. As Chief of Staff of the Afghan armies, Djemal had for some time been active in the Caucasus region. Of his two fellow culprits, Taalat Bey was assassinated in Berlin in 1921, and Enver is looming up as the head of a new Moslem kingdom. The assassins were Armenians. (See Turkey.)

PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA

President Harding made final arbiter of the Tacna-Arica controversy, which is only one of nine boundary conflicts pending in South America—Relations becoming very cordial between Argentina and Brazil and between Argentina and Spain—General Crowder lays down loan conditions to Cuba

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

CHILE

THE protocol signed in Washington on July 21, putting the solution of the Tacna-Arica difficulty in the hands of the President of the United States, as arbitrator, has been received in Chile somewhat less favorably than in Peru, where President Leguia has silenced all opposition. President Alessandri of Chile has announced that he contemplates a speaking tour to inform public opinion of the significance of the agreement with Peru. Later dispatches declare that the necessary majority for the ratification of the Protocol will be given the President by the Chilean Congress. The Protocol begins by stating that the only pending difficulties between Chile and Peru emanate from the unfulfilled clauses of Article 3 of the Ancon Treaty. The statement is of far-reaching importance, as it tends to eliminate all other contentions. The President of the United States is appointed arbiter, and his decision is to be considered as final. A maximum period of three months is given for the Congresses of Chile and Peru either to ratify or reject the Protocol.

A complementary act, enclosing the last Peruvian proposals, declares that the arbiter shall have complete power to fix the conditions by which the plebiscite shall be governed. All the other conditions are as announced in CURRENT HISTORY for August.

It is expected that the Committee on Program of the coming Pan-American Conference, to be held in Santiago de Chile next March, will not consider the Uruguayan proposal to discuss there the establishment of an American League of Nations, making it a continental entity. Equally doubtful seems the ultimate result of the suggestion that the Government of the Dominion of Canada be invited to send representatives to the Pan-American Congress.

Considerable agitation has prevailed in university circles in Santiago after the open conflict arising between the Rector of the University of Chile and the heads of the federated students. On one occasion the students took possession of the building and induced the Chancellor to surrender the keys to them. The university authorities have canceled the student's privileges of the Presidents of the Federation and of the Students' League.

PERU

The beginning of direct negotiations between the Foreign Offices at Quito and Lima is heralded in both capitals as the first happy result of the Tacna-Arica conferences in Washington. After the signing of the treaty with Colombia,

for the rectification of the international boundary, it is expected that Peru's sincere purpose of settling all its troubles of the frontier line will be recognized in diplomatic circles. There are yet nine boundary conflicts pending in South America, the Tacna-Arica included. (1) Between Peru and Colombia, since 1831. Some 300,000 square kilometers are under dispute in the vicinity of the Caqueta River. (2) Between Peru and Ecuador—a question ninety years old; 100,000 square kilometers occupied by Peru and 400,000 occupied by Ecuador are disputed. Three wars have been fought over this land. (3) Between Chile and Peru. About 35,000 square kilometers of territory in Tacna and Arica are under claim by both sides. (4) Bolivia claims a port on the Pacific. (5) Between Bolivia and Paraguay 300,000 square kilometers. (6) Between Bolivia and Argentina 20,000 square kilometers on the banks of the Putumayo. (7) Between Argentina and Paraguay, a zone on the lower Putumayo. (8) Between Chile and Argentina, over the jurisdiction in the region of the Beagle Channel, and possession of the adjacent islands, Lenox, Nueva and Picton. (9) Between Colombia and Venezuela, 80,000 square kilometers of territory.

The Peruvian Congress is discussing the largest concession given in many years in South America to a foreign corporation or individual. The negotiation calls for the construction of 2,400 miles of railroad lines in various parts of Peru, involving a grant of over 20,000,000 acres of land. The concessionary is James Dunsmuir of Victoria, B. C. The investment of money is put at \$20,000,000. The Government will contribute to the construction with the excess over 500,000 Peruvian pounds collected from the tobacco monopoly. It is expected that 200 kilometers will be built every year. One system will connect the present railroads from the coast to the interior. Another will cross the Andes on to the highlands of the eastern slopes. The first lines to be constructed will be one from Huanacayo to Ayacucho, another from Lima to Pisco, and from Tambo del Sol, on the Cerro de Pasco line, to the ultra-Andean timberlands.

ARGENTINA

Representative Antonio de Tomaso is the author of a bill now under passionate discussion in the Argentine Congress, by which a wide range of causes for divorce is admitted under the law. The project is substantially the same as that presented by Representative Bravo in 1917. According to the bill, divorce will be effected by reason of incompatibility, by the wish of one

of the parties and by several causes giving legal ground for divorce. Among them the law will recognize the following: infidelity, attempt against the life of one of the spouses by the other, imprisonment of one of them for more than five years, prostitution or corruption of the children, cruelty, insanity lasting for more than three years, contagious diseases, alcoholism or the vice of gambling. A vast improvement in the public health has been recognized through the efforts of the National Department of Hygienics, the cases of contagious diseases having decreased in a great proportion during the last year. The Health Bureau carries on a campaign of publicity among the lower classes for the purpose of making them acquainted with both the characteristics and the means of defence against infectious diseases.

During the last ten months, commercial operations involving the sum of 85,000,000,000 marks have been realized, as against 56,000,000,000 negotiated during the previous ten months. The Banco Aleman Transatlantico believes this is one of the reasons for the increase in German merchandise imported in South America lately. A careful survey of the wool situation throughout the republic foretells a great falling off in the production. It is expected that the total output will be the smaller since 1900, not exceeding 180,000,000 pounds. According to the program, the President-elect of Argentina, Dr. Alvear, has visited the King of Spain in his Summer residence at Santander, where a number of receptions and banquets were given in his honor. The character of the speeches exchanged between these personages is significant of very cordial relations between Spain and Argentina. On the eve of his departure from Spain, the Argentinian guest was invited to San Sebastian by the Secretary of State, Señor Fernandez-Prida.

BRAZIL

With the return to freedom of Mariscal Hermes da Fonseca, who was detained under orders of President Pessoa after his telegram to the Recife garrison, all political tension has subsided, and the Brazilian public begins in a happier mood to prepare for the celebration of the centennial anniversary of its independence, in September. Among the embassies expected the Mexican calls for special mention owing to the number and significance of its personnel. Presided over by Dr. Jose Vasconcelos, a group of diplomats, politicians, students of the military school and officers of the aviation school of Mexico City are on the way to Rio Janeiro. Several South American countries will follow the example of the United States and open exhibits within the walls of their own buildings. Together with the staple products of each South American country, several delegations of scientists, sportsmen and artists are about to meet at Rio during the celebrations. Extreme significance is attributed to the words uttered by Dr. Pueyrredon, the Argentine Minister of Foreign Relations at the reception given in honor of the new Brazilian naval attaché, Sr. Meneses. The expressions of praise and friendship towards Brazil given by the Argentinian diplomat are

taken as one of the most authoritative proofs of the increasing cordiality of relation and unity of purpose between the two great republics of the South Atlantic. Brazilian newspapers have expressed the belief that the work of the jingoes and fire-eaters of both countries is for ever made useless.

The President has sent to Congress a message asking for a law by which the sale to foreigners of land touching on the national frontiers will be prohibited. This measure is intended to stop negotiations going on in several States for the giving out of concessions or the sale of boundary land to foreign individuals or corporations.

PANAMA CANAL *ZONE

William C. Hushing, a member of the Wage Board of the Panama Canal, on July 5, charged that recent economies in the Administration of the Canal Zone had resulted in an epidemic of malaria and fever, and said the American public should be "awake to the fact that the wonderful sanitation program which General Gorgas installed has been destroyed" and declared that skilled workmen were leaving the zone as fast as they could get away. For this expression of opinion he was dismissed from office, having first been given the option of resigning. Colonel Jay G. Morrow, the Governor, denied his charges, but Mr. Hushing on July 26 reasserted them, and said that, according to the Health Office figures, malaria had increased 31 per cent. over last year during the early part of the rainy season.

The Panama Metal Trades' Council met on July 27 and condemned the Governor for discharging Mr. Hushing, decided to retain him as the Panama workmen's representative in the pay of the council, and adopted a resolution to have all the Canal Zone employes submit their resignations to the Legislative Committee of the Council to be used at its discretion.

Administration of the Canal Zone, which had been conducted on Communist lines, no private business being allowed, has recently undergone a change. Steamship offices, cable offices and fuel oil depots were the exceptions. The Canal Administration runs department stores, machine shops, warehouses, dry docks, wharves, coal depots, hotels, a railroad across the isthmus, and a steamship service to the United States. As in the case of Russia, the Government has found the system of engaging in private enterprises rather expensive, and has recently authorized the sale of the Government restaurants to private parties, with the prospect of leaving other productive functions later to individual competition.

Governor Morrow entertained at dinner on Aug. 5 Vice Admiral Taniguchi and the officers of a Japanese naval training squadron visiting Panama.

PANAMA

President Porras, at the annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce on Aug. 2, urged the advisability of an advertising campaign for Panama abroad, and suggested the desirability of making the country attractive to tourists. He opposed the idea of making Panama a free port,

pointing out that the country's industries should first be developed. He suggested the establishment of an agricultural department in the national bank for making long term loans to farmers, and a commercial section to appraise values of city real estate.

Rodolfo Chiari, a former Presidential candidate and owner of the largest sugar mill in Panama, was appointed Minister of Justice on Aug. 3.

HONDURAS

Honduras is establishing radio communication with the outside world. An American company is erecting a powerful wireless station able to communicate with the United States and Europe.

GUATEMALA

Manuel Estrada Cabrera, former President of Guatemala, has been transferred from the prison, where he was detained for his activities in bombarding the capital during a successful revolution in 1920, to a private house on account of illness.

COSTA RICA

A wave of prosperity has been sweeping over Costa Rica, largely due to the abundant coffee crop and the high prices offered in London. These offers have so affected the distribution that considerable amounts shipped to New York were diverted to English ports. Prices declined later, but by the time they reached a parity with New York the crop was practically sold out.

CUBA

General Crowder on July 21 issued a warning to the Cuban Government on the debt situation, naming as precedents to American approval of a new loan certain conditions which it was stated on Aug. 6, when the document was made public, had received the sanction of Secretary Hughes. General Crowder first mentioned as presaging financial trouble Cuba's default on the service of the exterior bonded debt, arrears of which were finally paid out of the proceeds of a new loan; her default on the service of the internal loan of 1917, now amounting to \$3,000,000, and the floating debt or unpaid current obligations closely approximating the total annual receipts of the National Treasury from all sources.

The first of the conditions, General Crowder said, must be action by the Legislature and Executive to secure prompt payment of interest and sinking fund charges of the proposed new loan, as well as existing ones. He declared budget economies and the passage of a civil service law respecting tenure of office to be necessary. He called attention to the fact that the law regarding competitive bids had been more honored in the breach than the observance, and suggested the annulment of all contracts awarded in violation of the law. He charged graft in the Treasury, the courts and the judiciary, frauds on the customs and neglect to bring indicted officials to trial. All these matters would have to be corrected before a loan could be approved.

General Crowder conferred with the Congress-

sional leaders personally on Aug. 7 and told them a foreign loan was necessary to liquidate the Government's unpaid obligations and restore its credit. An agreement was reached to suspend the civil service law for three months in order to permit a reorganization in the interests of honesty and efficiency. Colonel Manuel Despaign offered a bill for a foreign loan of about \$50,000,000 to meet obligations. It provided for a 1 per cent. sales tax.

Representative Sagaro complained to the Supreme Court on July 28 of wholesale frauds on the Treasury. There have disappeared from postal money order funds \$1,820,077; from port workers' funds \$2,254,140, and from civil retirement funds \$2,370,428. In May and June it was charged there was \$9,700,000 unaccounted for. Treasury orders for payment in the last fiscal year were about \$68,500,000, but receipts for expenditures aggregated \$77,000,000. Señor Sagaro also charged extensive frauds in the national lottery, the Public Works Department and the Havana Street Cleaning Department.

Herman Upmann, the banker charged with fraud in connection with the failure of his private bank and out on bail, was arrested on July 20 as a result of an alleged attempt to leave Cuba.

Eugene Joy, a son of the Consular Agent of the United States at Sagua la Grande, was captured by bandits on July 27 and held for \$20,000 ransom. He was driving home at midnight alone in his car when a stranger asked him for a lift. The stranger at once attacked him, three confederates appeared, and he was dragged to some nearby hills. The next night he felled the leader with a huge rock and fought off the others, but was severely stabbed in the struggle. He managed to elude them in the dark, hid until morning and took refuge in a peasant's hut, where he was found by a searching party.

The outlook for Cuba's prosperity has been enhanced by the unexpected increase of the sugar crop from an estimate of 3,500,000 tons. On July 15, with thirteen mills still grinding 3,900,000 tons had been produced.

HAITI

An attempt was made on July 26 to shoot Edouard Mandones, Mayor of Port-au-Prince, who has been active in unearthing alleged local graft. Ludovic Monplaisir, Director of Cemeteries, met the Mayor on the street, denounced him and began shooting. Edmond Millet, a member of the Mayor's Council, was seriously wounded. Three days later the dead body of City Receiver Clement Denize was found with a wound in the head. He was one of the Mayor's appointees in his campaign against graft.

SANTO DOMINGO

Horace G. Knowles, former American Minister to Rumania and counsel for the deposed Constitutional Government of Santo Domingo, on July 22, announced his entire acceptance of the plan for the withdrawal of the United States military force from that country. (See CURRENT

HISTORY for August, page 742). He said the plan was more than he expected, and that it would be enthusiastically approved by the Dominican people. It was also approved by the Haitian-Santo Domingo Independence Society and by leaders of three Dominican parties who conferred with Secretary Hughes in Washington.

At the same time reviving trade activity is reflected in the increase for the second quarter of 1922 in customs collections on which the Dominican bonds are a specific charge. The collections totaled \$746,291, as against \$652,705 for last year. The budget shows a surplus.

Mr. John T. Vance Jr., who contributed to the July CURRENT HISTORY article entitled "A Good Word for Santo Domingo," calls attention to the fact that the types made him use a machete to cut "wood" instead of "weeds," and that the editorial condensation of certain passages resulted in misstating his ideas. Thus, in referring to health and sanitation, Mr. Vance did not intend to criticize the work of the Military Government along these lines. What he wrote was this: "In writing of health and sanitation, on page 169 of his report, Dr. Kelsey states that there is no great difference between the two parts of the island [viz., Santo Domingo and Haiti]. Perhaps under American occupation there is not, but there was a vast difference before the military occupation. There was much less disease and poverty in Santo Domingo, the houses and their inhabitants were far cleaner, and the streets of their towns were as clean as the streets of the average American town of the same size."

Of marriage conditions in Santo Domingo Mr. Vance wrote: "On the subject of the family, I would call Dr. Kelsey's attention to several errors into which he has inadvertently fallen. Speaking of marriage, he states that formerly one civil official issued the license, while the ceremony was performed by another, or by a priest. The statement is misleading. Before the American occupation the civil marriage alone was legal, and the faithful considered it their duty to be married also by the Catholic Church. This double wedding was an expensive luxury, indulged in by but few."

BRITISH WEST INDIES

BAHAMAS—The British Government on July 21 asked the United States to investigate the killing of Captain George Edgecomb, the negro master of the schooner William H. Albury, owned by a British firm of Nassau, with a cargo of 4,000 cases of whisky, which was robbed by American pirates at Gun Cay.

BARBADOES—High grade oil has been struck in the northern part of Barbadoes at a depth of 2,100 feet.

JAMAICA—The Attorney General of Jamaica on July 29 left for the United States to inaugurate a publicity campaign on behalf of Jamaica as a tourist resort. Winston Churchill, the British Colonial Secretary, on Aug. 8, instructed the Governor to place before the people of Jamaica the text of proposed changes in the political constitution and invite them to express their views.

MEXICO'S STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1922]

PRESIDENT Obregon on Aug. 7 signed the agreement made on June 16 by Secretary Huerta and Thomas W. Lamont, representing the international committee of bankers for settlement of the outstanding Mexican external debt, the terms of which will be found in the article on page 1010. The face value of the securities covered is more than \$500,000,000, on which the interest in arrears amounted approximately to \$200,000,000. The next step will be the submission of the agreement to the Mexican Congress when it meets in September. The general official opinion was that Congress would ratify it without question.

The statement was authorized at the White House on Aug. 8 that President Harding was of opinion that the relations of the United States Government and Mexico were "progressing favorably." On that day the Mexican Embassy made public the decisions of the Mexican Supreme Court in the amparo (sequestration) cases, dealing with appeals for injunctions to prevent the carrying out of orders of the Secretary of Industry for the confiscation of oil properties under Article 27 of the Constitution. In

every case the Supreme Court decided that Article 27 could not be considered retroactive and that it did not injure vested rights. It reversed the decision of the lower court and granted the injunction asked for by the oil companies. On Aug. 10, however, the value of these amparo decisions was considerably discounted by a statement issued by Secretary of State Hughes that the new court rulings "do not, however, effectively deal with the rights of American citizens in lands containing petroleum or other subsoil substances where the lands were owned prior to May 1, 1917, but had not been developed, or as to which leases or contract rights to prospect for and work petroleum had not been granted before that date." He made it clear that recognition would require other action of an affirmative character by responsible authorities in Mexico. (See article on Page 1010.)

Señor de la Huerta, Mexican Finance Minister, previous to leaving New York, conferred on July 18 with President Harding at the White House and Secretary Hughes at the State Department. He arrived in Mexico City on July 24 and reported to President Obregon regarding his

negotiations in New York and Washington with the bankers and the oil companies.

Owing to the appearance of salt water in large quantities in the Toteco-cerro Azul oil district of Mexico, several companies decided to reduce production. The result was a heavy decline in the last half of July, amounting to 7,000,000 barrels from June. Depredations of bandits in the Tampico oil region called forth an order from President Obregon to mobilize all available Federal troops, who moved into the district under the command of General Sanchez. He organized a punitive expedition against the rebel Gorozave, who had been seizing oil companies' properties and threatening to destroy pipe lines if ransom were not forthcoming. Gorozave was trapped and killed and his body, riddled with bullets by Federal troops, was exhibited at Zacamixtl on July 19 as a "horrible example." Several smaller bands were defeated, and on July 29 General Sanchez announced that the entire region was clear of rebels.

A. Bruce Bielaski, former chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, who was kidnapped near Cuernavaca on June 24 and escaped three days later, was placed under close surveillance in Mexico City, the authorities suspecting that the kidnapping was a "frame-up." Mr. and Mrs. Bielaski moved from their hotel to the American Embassy, awaiting the result of the investigation by the Cuernavaca Court. They left Mexico City on Aug. 10, and arrived at Cuernavaca the same day. Here Mr. Bielaski was to make a statement before the local judge, and was to be confronted with the testimony of Mme. Milo and Señor Barcenás, a Mexican lawyer, both of whom were with the Bielaski party at the time of the alleged kidnapping, and also of Montes de Oca, the chauffeur. The hearing followed, and resulted on Aug. 12 in the exoneration of Mr. Bielaski on the charge of collusion.

Contests for seats in the Chamber of Deputies were pouring in to the Permanent Legislative Committee, and it was stated that at least half the seats originally conceded to President Obregon's coalition or co-operative party are involved. The protests come chiefly from Independents, supported by Catholics and members of the Liberal Constitutional Party. Several newspapers predicted that two Chambers will attempt to sit as the official Congress at the opening in September.

On Aug. 7 the State Department at Washington received a protest from the Mexican Government on the killing of two Mexican citizens and the beating of others in connection with the mine massacre at Herrin, Ill. The department gave its assurances that the circumstances would be thoroughly investigated.

José M. Sanchez, Governor of the State of Puebla and a member of the Chamber of Deputies, arrived in Moscow on July 11, to study conditions in Soviet Russia. Police broke up a Bolshevik demonstration in Mexico City on July 23, making the first time the Reds have been prevented from parading as they pleased. They carried flags inscribed "Communist Party of Mexico, Section of the Third International." General Pedro Almada, Chief of Police of the Federal District, in an interview said: "Bolshevism is a danger to Mexico and the world. Unless a higher authority overrules me, I will permit no Bolshevik parades in Mexico City."

Some religious disturbances marked the month. Catholic workmen and syndicalists clashed on July 26, at a factory near Queretaro, and Atanasio Ponce, leader of the Catholics, was killed. Two Protestant missionaries, both Americans, were mobbed at San Pablo, Tlaxcala, and dragged by their feet out of town. Only the interference of the authorities prevented their being murdered.

Chinese factions in Sonora have been engaging in a murderous vendetta and the Federal Government on Aug. 5 ordered the expulsion of the leaders. About 250 Chinese were arrested and confined in the State penitentiary at Hermosillo for deportation to China.

Miguel Alessio Robles, Secretary of Labor, to relieve the unemployed has urged the different State authorities to classify laborers according to lines of work, and the workers will be shifted from one State to another as conditions warrant. Eight thousand railway men paraded the streets of Mexico City on Aug. 1, as a mark of sympathy with the striking railroad workers in the United States. All railroad activities, with the exception of passenger trains, were halted for an hour throughout the republic, and parades were held in many cities. A brief sympathy strike occurred in Nuevo Laredo.

Henry Ford plans the establishment of a large plant for assembling motor cars in Mexico. The Governor of Coahuila has offered land for a factory in Saltillo and exemption from taxation for fifteen years. Several other plants may be established.

Several thousand Polish Jews are to be brought to Mexico and colonized upon agricultural lands, according to a plan submitted to the Government on Aug. 9 by Paul W. Rothberg, who has acquired a tract of 64,000 acres of land in Tamaulipas for the purpose.

General Salinas, Chief of the Mexican Air Service, on Aug. 7, opened negotiations in Washington for the purchase of aircraft from the United States Army and private manufacturers. Secretary Weeks approved the negotiations.



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